



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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20 October 1989

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Ethiopia

'Big Operation' Begins To Stop TPLF

AB1910204389 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 19 Oct 89

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Ethiopian troops have begun a big operation to try to stop the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF] and their allies from advancing any closer to the capital, Addis Ababa. The strategic town of Dese has been reinforced and troops from two other regions have been flown to the neighboring garrison town of Combocha.

The BBC East African correspondent says that after almost 6 weeks of unbroken success against government forces, President Mengistu has ordered a determined stand to hold the rebel advance and prevent them from cutting the vital road between Addis Ababa and the Red Sea.

Administrators who withdrew from Dese have been told to return and telephone lines to the capital have been reestablished.

Somalia

Rebels Said To Tighten Hold Near Berbera Port

AB2010093489 Paris AFP in French 0842 GMT
20 Oct 89

[Text] Nairobi, 20 Oct (AFP)—Rebels of the Somali National Movement (SNM) have tightened their hold, in the last few weeks, around the strategic port of Berbera and other big towns in northern Somalia, it was learned today from diplomatic sources and from the guerrillas in the region. SNM elements can be found presently in the immediate vicinities of Berbera, the harbor, and the Gulf of Aden airport which is still under the control of the regular forces, and where the United States maintains facilities for its Rapid Deployment Forces, the sources specified.

The SNM controls the road linking Berbera with Hargeysa, the capital of the north, where the regular forces now hold only the airport, according to these sources. The rebel movement also controls the road between Hargeysa and Borama, near the Ethiopian border, a town which is still in the hands of the regular forces and the militia of the Gadaboursi clan, an ally of the central government. Borama only gets its supplies from a light aircraft of the regular forces from Berbera, the sources specified.

Officials of the SNM, including the leader Mohamed Silanyo, held their third "coordinating meeting" about 2 weeks ago on "liberated territory", it was indicated from rebel sources. A first summit meeting of the SNM took place in February 1989 in Rome, and a second one was held in London in March.

Meanwhile, the SNM, which essentially recruits its men among the Issaqs, the majority clan in the north of the

country, recently formed an alliance with the Haawiye, who are numerous in the capital. An obvious result of this alliance, which constitutes a new threat to President Siad Barre's regime, was the desertion from the government troops of about 300 soldiers, including 28 officers, belonging to the Haawiye clan, the same sources said.

Many cases of desertion were reported recently in several regions of the country, according to sources close to the rebels. At Barawe, in the south, 300 soldiers are reported to have deserted. Similarly, in Mogadishu, an unspecified number of deserters have reportedly joined the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), another active rebel group in the south.

Tomorrow, Somalia will celebrate the 20th anniversary of President Siad Barre's accession to power.

Tanzania

Angolan Official Says Savimbi 'Obstacle to Peace'

EA1810130589 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 0400 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Arusha—The Angolan Government says that it will continue to make every effort to bring peace to the country. The announcement was made in Arusha, yesterday, by the director of the department of external relations of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, Sebastiao da Silva (Sata).

Addressing the international conference on peace and security in southern Africa, Mr Da Silva (Sata) said National Union for the Total Independence of Angola bandit leader, Jonas Savimbi, was the main obstacle to peace in the country.

He said that despite the willingness by the Angolan Government to end the war in Angola, Savimbi rejected all pledges reached in Zaire at a meeting attended by a number of African heads of state, which came out with a cease-fire proposal.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, now in France, is meeting all parties involved in the Angolan conflict in a bid to revive the cease-fire.

Uganda

* More Rebels Surrender in Northern Areas

34000708b Kampala THE NEW VISION in English
2 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by George Obwona]

[Text] Over one thousand and two hundred rebels have surrendered to government forces in Gulu district. The surrenders took place between 20 May and two weeks ago.

During the same period 629 guns, 15 medium machine guns and 39 light machine guns were captured from the

rebels during operations mounted by the NRA [National Resistance Army] and militias.

All the rebels who voluntarily reported have been freed.

The Chief of Combat Operations, Brig David Tinyefuza made this disclosure when he addressed RCs in Gulu district council chambers last week. He said RCs [Resistance Committees] should demand for more actions from leaders in Gulu rather than just talking.

He advised the RCs to take over mobilisation of the masses. He regretted that provision of social services had not been attended to due to the war.

Brig Tinyefuza observed that peace had returned to all parts of the district. He said people should stop talking about the war in Gulu because there was no more war in Gulu.

He said there were only a few rebels who are constantly on the run for their lives. He said these would be picked up if they did not want to surrender.

He said the offensive operation which began on 20 May this year, manned by the NRA mobile forces and local defence units, killed many enemies while no civilian was killed.

The father of Alice Lakwena, Severino Lukoya Kiberu, who had taken over the command of Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit, remnant rebel forces was introduced to *wananchi* during the meeting. Severino Lukoya had surrendered a few days earlier to the NRA.

The NRA dressed Lukoya smartly in a suit despite the destruction he had caused to human lives, especially in Kitgum district.

The deadly Lukoya had been responsible for the killing of several people including 49 in Muewini when he removed a foetus from the mother and later slaughtered both the mother and foetus.

Lukoya was also responsible for ambushing a ministerial convoy in February last year at Pajule, in Kitgum district, where the Minister of Lands and Surveys, Mr Ben Okello Luwum went missing for four days while the Regional Relief Officer, the late Toolit got brutally murdered.

Lukoya also burnt 690 granaries containing food stuffs in one day in Kitgum district, while he insisted to the people that he was god the father. At one time Lukoya said it was the holy spirit acting and not himself.

Brig Tinyefuza said people like Lukoya, Joseph Kony and Alice Lakwena and those who followed them like Prof Isaac Newton Ojok, former minister of education, are the tragedy of the Ugandan society.

He told the gathering that witchcraft would never win any war, except gunpowder and military science.

He said past records of failure of witchcraft like "*maji maji*" rebellion should have taught those waging witchcraft wars.

The Gulu assistant District Administrator, Mr J.B. Ochaya said the two months recorded remarkable achievements in the quest for peace as a result of deployment of the mobile forces and militias plus involvement of RCs and *wananchi*.

* Eastern Community Promises To Stop Fighting

34000714c Kampala THE GUIDE in English
23 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Moses Okalebo]

[Text] Karamojong rustlers from Matheniko and Bokora counties in Moroto district numbering about ten thousand have resolved to observe peace and unity but on condition that cattle stolen from one county is returned to the other.

The rustlers who prefer calling themselves warriors passed the resolution at a meeting held at Kangole in Bukora county. It was organized and addressed by NRC [National Resistance Council] members from Moroto.

Matheniko and Bakora counties, Messrs Peter Nyangiro, Pulkol and Patrick Apuni. [sentence as published]

The meeting was called to try to curb insecurity arising from cattle rustling.

It is believed that the Matheniko warriors have joined hands with Turkana from Kenya.

Bokora agreed to put down their arms on condition that each county returns animals stolen to the other.

Addressing the warriors Hon Peter Nyangiro and Patrick Apuni were happy to note that the security situation with neighboring districts has tremendously improved.

The NRC members were however shocked by the manner in which the Karamojong of Bokora and Matheniko were killing and looting innocent people and appealed to them to feel they are members of the same family.

The warriors were also urged to solve their problems through Resistance Councils.

* Army Assumes Command of Local Militia Units

34000844a Kampala THE GUIDE in English
23 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] The Local Defence Forces are to be left entirely in the hands of National Resistance Army [NRA] commander as a method of ensuring political and social security of the people.

This was the resolution adopted by the Moyo District Resistance Council during their two-day meeting held mid-last month. The meeting by a total of 58 councilors and ex-officio members who sat in the District Court Hall also condemned the recent attack on Adjumani by

rebels and declared that Moyo district had no intentions of war against the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government.

Under the chairmanship of the RC [Resistance Committee] V chairman Mr Philip Idro, the District Council which was also addressed by the DA [District Administrator] of Moyo Mr Paul Kakonge, also resolved that the office of the DA and RC V should launch a mobilisation campaign in Obongi county where insecurity originated from.

The DA Kakonge had earlier told the district councillors of reports about rebel threats from the neighbouring districts of Gulu and Arua and cautioned the people's leaders to be vigilant, report any wrong elements but not to panic.

The Moyo District Council considered the absorption of the RC V Defence Secretary on the District Security committee and directed the office of RC V chairman to write a letter to the National Political Commissar.

On games and sports, the District Resistance Council charged the District Sports Officer with the duty of mobilising competition among the people requesting for sports equipment, encouraging RC's to make sports field, recruitment of county sports organisers and the rehabilitation of their social centre. [sentence as published]

*** War in Southern Sudan Poses Threat**

34000844b Kampala THE GUIDE in English
23 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] Last week, a four man Sudanese delegation led by Brigadier Dominic Kasiano delivered a special message from the new Sudanese government of Brigadier General Bashir to President Museveni.

The delegation was on its tour of neighboring countries briefing the leaders on the new Sudanese government policies and steps it is taking to end the civil war in the South as well as appealing to these leaders to assist in ending the civil war. The delegation visited Zaire, Uganda and Kenya.

The civil war in Sudan was first a sort of "religious" war between the animist and Christian South fighting against the predominantly Arab Muslim North. But later changed into a way of dissatisfaction over economic parity and political power sharing.

In fact the southerners lost a good chance during Nimeiry's rule in which they would have turned the South into a sort of a economic haven for they were given all they needed but because of corruption they turned all the money to the North.

Thus the civil war in Sudan is purely an internal affair of the Sudanese people and therefore the delegation to Uganda, Kenya and Zaire was not on a mission to request military support but for peaceful support to end the war by peaceful means. But once any government decided to back one of the sides, then that country ceases to be a fair arbitrator.

This civil war in Sudan means a lot to Uganda for if it continues, it will be costly to Uganda as well in terms of the expense of looking after refugees and disrupting life of Ugandans who had just returned from exile in Southern Sudan.

It is therefore necessary for Uganda to support all the means to help bring the civil war in Sudan to a peaceful end.

Neighboring countries to Sudan who have resorted to supporting militarily either side in the conflict should bear in mind that they will have to share the consequences of the results thereafter.

*** Rebels Apparently Active in Western Region**

34000846c Kampala THE GUIDE in English
23 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Sporadic shooting has broken out in the Western Uganda town of Kasese sending the area into panic.

The shooting which started from the ranges of Rwenzori Mountains started on Tuesday August 15 and continued up to yesterday Wednesday August 16 and by 4:00 pm when shops and offices in the town had closed. [sentence as published]

The cause of the shoot out and who were involved, were not yet known.

Telecommunication and Radio Call Communications were cut off, after 12:00 noon Wednesday August 16. A telephone operator contacted Wednesday about 5:30 pm. for connection to Kasese, told THE GUIDE, the lines are out of order. The same answer for a Radio Call, connection was given. [sentence as published]

Earlier, Wednesday August 16, "THE GUIDE" learnt that several people had been admitted to a hospital in Kasese with injuries. Some casualties were said to have been admitted in Buhinga hospital in neighboring Kaboro District.

Some dead bodies were said to have been taken to the hospital Mortuary.

Travellers from Kasese to Fort Portal admitted there had been sporadic shooting in the town but declined to give further details.

One trader who normally commutes between Fort Portal and Kasese said there were very few travellers in Kasese.

A train from Kampala to Kasese meanwhile proceeded normally an indication that the situation was not tense.

It is understood that Rwenzururu rebels are operating in the Rwenzori Mountains from where they are fighting the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government.

And just recently former Ugandan Deputy Minister who jumped bail Amon Bazira ran to Zaire and declared war against NRM government.

* Government Releases Political Prisoners

34000711a Kampala *THE NEW VISION* in English
21 Aug 89 pp 1, 12

[Article by Ben Ochan]

[Text] Over 1,000 prisoners, commonly called "lodgers," were released from Luzira prison on Saturday morning. They are persons picked from areas of rebel activities and kept in prisons. It has not been possible to press any criminal proceedings against them in courts due to lack of evidence that would be admissible in a court of law.

The lodgers had been held in Upper Prison, Murchison Bay Prison, Remand Prison and Luzira Women's Prison. The women released from the women prison totalled 42.

Lodgers, Richard Ojang and Lawrence Aketo remained in Murchison Bay Prison for alleged murder of a man, woman and their children in Apac.

Richard Ojang broke into tears when a warden announced that the two would not be let free until Impala Criminal Investigations Department (CID), sorted out their case.

"Why did they have to do this now when I am being released," he wondered in sobs. Lawrence Aketo also broke down. They have been in prison since 1987.

The Officer-in-Charge of Murchison Bay Prison, Superintendent of prisons, Mr Eric William Sentongo Waswa said CID officials had been sent for to come and look into the allegations.

All the released lodgers are from Lira, Apac and Kitgum. A Press release read over Radio Uganda over the weekend, commenting on the release of the lodgers, said the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Ibrahim Mukiibi said the security situation in certain areas of Uganda and the absence of appropriate legal provision for dealing with insurgency at the time, left government with no alternative but to keep former rebels as lodgers.

Mr Mukubi said the situation had now become normal and the NRM [National Resistance Movement] would keep its policy of national reconciliation and unity by stepping up the rate of releasing the lodgers.

He appealed to the released lodgers to engage in productive activities, conducive to economic development in their area.

The Press release said 1,086 lodgers had been released but the head count of released lodgers was 1,075. Murchison Bay Prison marked 230 as released, Upper Prison 514, Remand Prison 289 and Luzira Women 42.

The decision to release the lodgers was taken by the High Command according to the Press release.

The lodgers were loaded in three 30 tonne Fiat trucks, destined for Lira, Apac and Kitgum.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), gave each lodger a shirt, pair of trousers, blanket, hoe, a packet of biscuits and a price of sugar cane to chew in transit. The women were given skirts and blouses besides other kits given to the male lodgers.

ICRC head delegate, Mr Arthur Bisig and the Commissioner of Prisons, Mr Joseph Etima witnessed the release of the lodgers.

The prison chaplain, William Sentumbwe and Director of Christian Light Foundation participated in the praise of the Lord sang by the lodgers.

Prisons officers said the lodgers spent the night singing in joy upon hearing of their being released.

The lodgers were aged between 17 and 85 years of age. Most of them were arrested in 1986 and 1987.

James Oyanga, released from Upper Prison, said the NRA [National Resistance Army] picked him from Lira town in 1986. He said he left behind a wife, Rose Akulu and two children. He said he was happy to be free. Tonny Engim arrested in 1986 in Kyoga, Lira said he was chewing a sugar cane for the first time since his arrest and had difficulty in chewing the cane. He said he was suffering from chest pain.

Excited John Opio Ogwal, from Kyoga, was arrested by the NRA because he claimed he was a strange face in Kyoga in 1987. He said I am happy to be in the outside world.

Moses Oding, a middle aged man from Apac immediately sold off his blanket given to him by the ICRC. He sold the blanket at 700/- =. This occurred at Upper Prison. Many cases of blanket sales also took place at Remand Prison.

* Stability Returns to Northern Regions

34000708c Kampala *THE NEW VISION* in English
21 Jul 89 pp 1, 12

[Article by Ben Ochan. Words in italics as published.]

[Text] The bloody war of rebellion which had gripped Gulu District since August, 1986 now seems to be dying down and peace returning to the area. Residents of the area have been travelling to and from all directions of the district streaming into the town for the past five days I stayed in the region.

Traders and relatives walk 10 to 20 miles to the town from areas that had been designated as danger zones by the National Resistance Army [NRA] and relief organisations like the International Committee of the Red Cross, World Vision and the Church of Uganda.

Maize, potatoes, cassava, tomatoes, cabbages and sugar cane are now abundant. And Kampala businessmen have resumed deliveries of second hand clothes to Gulu Owino Market.

Gulu-Kitgum road which had been blockaded by a combined Uganda People's Democratic Army and Holy Spirit rebels since August 1986 has now been opened by *wananchi* and the people's militia army.

But motor transport across Aswa River along the road is still difficult due to huge gulleys across the road, five miles before Aswa bridge.

The combined UPDA [Uganda People's Democratic Army] and Holy spirit rebels have drifted into Kitgum District and others to West Nile, according to Col Peter Kelim, the NRA division commander in Gulu.

Col Kelim and 500 rebels were captured and 501 guns recovered by Tuesday, 18 July since the NRA launched a destroy offensive, one month and three weeks ago. He said rebel leader Odong Latek is suspected to be hiding along Aswa River on the Gulu-Kitgum border.

He said there were 330 prisoners of war and 850 reporters. Col Kelim said the prisoners of war would be taken to Masindi and Kiburara re-organization schools.

One hundred and fifty of the captives are still being screened in Gulu barracks. Among them are rebel top ranks such as Major George Obur, Capt Justin Ochen, Capt Bazilio Opige and Lt Sam Iloya Onen.

All these rebel officers said they served in the Uganda National Liberation Army and that they stayed in the rebel force because of rebel top ranks awards.

Among the captured is Lucy Atim. She is one of rebel leader Joseph Kony's wives. She is 23 years old and carrying Kony's 11 month old healthy looking son, Moses Komakech.

Lucy Atim said she and 60 others were captured by the NRA at Bar Olam in Koc Goma two weeks ago by the NRA following an attack on the rebels. She did not know the whereabouts of Kony.

Lucy Atim recalled she was abducted by the Holy Spirit force in 1987 as Lacekocot in Kitgum District and has ever since been on the move within the district.

Lucy Atim said Kony is a womaniser because Kony had many mistresses. She remembers three others as having conceived.

She called upon her mother, Margaret Layet and father, John Oringa, to come to her rescue as soon as they learn about her fate. She said her father used to work in the UNLA [Uganda National Liberation Army] but has never returned home since 1987 when she was abducted.

NRA Second Li Iraguha Everest, Fourth Division intelligence officer, said Lucy Atim was not regarded as a criminal. He assured her that she and her son would be helped to return home as soon as arrangements were complete.

Narrating the offensive, Col Kelim said the former rebel strongholds such as Alero, Koc Ongako, Anaka, Amuru,

Purongo and Olwio had been beaten using chiefs and local defence units.

He described the rebels as being on the run. "We hope to capture Latek and Kony with the help of *wananchi*. The run has been Alero, Amuni, Koc Goma, Koc Ongako, Olwjo, Purongo, Paibona to along River Aswa where Latek is hiding now." [sentence as received]

He said the rebel menace in Paraa had been wiped out. He assured travellers that Paraa-Pakwach road would be graded in two weeks' time. He said the rebels that had crossed into West Nile would be caught.

Reporters in Pabo and Paicho looked ill-fed and dressed. Out of the total, 80 I saw in these two areas had scabies, fresh and healed. Areas like Atiak, Pabbo, Lamogi, Paicho, Odek, Lalogi and Bungatira seem to be peaceful because people are resettling in their homes.

A big number of wealthy Gulu residents who had never been to Gulu since the war broke out to 1986, stormed the district last weekend. A senior government official told me that these big men are now lobbying for the people's votes to get them into the NRC [National Resistance Council].

The source said some of the big shots have already offered to fund the grading of roads leading to their homes and rehabilitation of damaged schools and social centres.

The Gulu Development Association was inaugurated over the weekend. Among others, the association will harness resources and funds to be used in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of social and economic infrastructure destroyed in the war.

The association was inaugurated by the Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister, resident in Gulu, Mrs Betty Bigombe.

But the association was inaugurated with mistrust because Gulu residents doubted the integrity of the association's interim committee which comprises mainly Kampala Acholis.

Mrs Bigombe warned the association against mishandling of the association's affairs and business.

Mrs Bigombe blamed the leadership vacuum in Gulu district on incapable people who opted for anonymity when the NRM [National Resistance Movement] assumed power. The interim chairman of the association is Mr George Abola, a businessman.

* Peace Process Taking Root in Northern Areas

34000846a Kampala *THE NEW VISION* in English
23 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Mulinde-Musoke]

[Text] At this moment there is a new phenomenon taking place in Gulu District. It is called peace.

After three [word omitted] of bloody fighting that has disrupted the lives of countless innocent people, the National Resistance Army [NRA] has finally emerged victor. Nevertheless the leading rebel leaders, Joseph Kony and Odong Latek, remain illusive. However, the Chief of Combat Operations (CCO) in the NRA [National Resistance Army] Brig David Tinyefuza, when addressing journalists recently at the Gulu Barracks, showed virtually no apprehension. He declared: "We have defeated them decisively. It was a thorough defeat."

Limbo

There was no hiding the high morale in the army units at the barracks, although at the same time, there were the obvious traces of fatigue. It has been a long and essentially wasteful war, but it is the wananchi of the district, who really reflect the intense hardships that have been endured. They have come out of a firestorm and many find themselves in a kind of a limbo. Faces look haggard and tired. One gets the distinct impression that inwardly, they are asking the question, what next? Homes have been destroyed, agricultural activities totally disorganized, hundreds if not thousands dead, and families spirit, many not even knowing the whereabouts of kith and kin.

Brig Tinyefuza did not downplay the plight of the civilians. "The wananchi had many problems and in a situation of conflict, there will be the dynamics of trying to tell who will win or lose."

The CCO went on to explain how civilians in such circumstances found themselves caught up in extreme difficulties for the sake of staying alive.

Tinyefuza said: "We did not have enough troops to protect everyone. People did their best to survive."

Museveni

This is qualified by a statement made by President Museveni back in May of this year, when he admitted that a lack of mobility in early 1986 and limited manpower until late 1988, had made it difficult for the NRA to end the war quickly. Undeniably, the rebel forces have been dispensed and the NRA has dealt them a crushing blow, but the NRA might also have to launch itself into some good old fashioned public relations. Although Brig Tinyefuza maintained that NRA/civilian relations were good, there is bound to be fear and mistrust in many wananchi of Gulu district towards the army.

At Ajulu, Kal Parish in Patiko Division, that fear and mistrust was occasionally visible, while Tinyefuza gave an impromptu speech to a relatively large gathering. Most were young men, between the ages of 17 and 25, who listened with seemingly eager interest as Tinyefuza spelt out the origins of the war and the government plans for rehabilitating the district. During the interlude of the CCO's talk, many pairs of these young eyes, would carelessly stray towards the well armed contingent that made up Tinyefuza's and Kerim's personal guard.

Others in the audience, were women with babies. Their expressions were mostly of acute boredom. Perhaps they had seen too much bloodshed and heard too many speeches from both sides, to care for nothing more than a chance to live normally again. The older people kept a quiet dignity and tended to lean forward to catch every word.

Charms

Tinyefuza was particularly cutting over the issue of the charms forced upon the fighters of the Holy Spirit Movement, to entice them into battle. He gave the example of ordinary cooking oil, which the Holy Spirit High Command elevated to marginal qualities and called Mooya. Mooya was smeared on bodies before a battle and supposedly had powers of protecting the fighters from bullets. The results were tragic.

According to the CCO, mooya was being supplied by a clique of rebel supporters based in Kampala. Apparently these people are now known to the government. Brig Tinyefuza showed obvious exasperation. Some in the audience laughed and it could well have been from embarrassment. Tinyefuza's exasperation is understandable. There is something atrociously cynical, if not totally evil in indiscriminately sending out young people to die in this manner. It indicates a lack of genuine moral commitment on the part of those who sought to lengthen this war. The Brig was to tell journalists later of the incredible and pathetic spectacle of being confronted with charging hordes of screaming young men, sometimes armed with nothing else but stones. The stones were supposed to turn into grenades when thrown. Col Kerim disclosed that the majority of the young men in the gathering at Ajulu had been in the bush.

Boiled Maize

There was a fete-like atmosphere at Ajulu, but also some somber aspects that reminded one of the true nature of war. The deprivation was self-evident. People had little money and even then, there was not much to buy. Most concentrated on the boiled maize or ripped at sugar canes. The cassava on sale was not that well grounded and also rather expensive. Others ignored all these things and concentrated on the inevitable liquor.

The little we saw of the district, indicated a great promise. The potential in the agricultural sector is enhanced by the relatively flat terrain—that is very suitable for mechanized farming. Under different circumstances, Gulu District could have become a pivotal area of national development. The initiative in the people is there, as shown by their efforts to spread grass on the ruined roads in order to even up the surface. Col Kerim noted that at a recent show held in Gulu town, there was a wide range of products which clearly vindicated this potential. Tinyefuza observed, "People are planting, because it is raining, but there is the problem of boreholes and agricultural implements." The CCO also emphasized, "Social services have to be rehabilitated to back up our victory."

Col Kerim was critical of most ministries in Kampala, because they have failed to follow up or appreciate the new peaceful situation in the district. He said the Ministry of Works was particularly slow to help in the grading of roads, and even the most recent grading operation along parts of the Awac road, could only be done, because the NRA provided the fuel. But the nagging question persists, is the war really over?

At the Acholi Inn, a local wananchi cautions about the continued threat that hangs over the district, until Latek and Kony are apprehended. In Kampala, a former resident of Gulu town is skeptical. He insists the war is not over. The rebels, he claims, have merely made a "tactical retreat" and will return in greater force. He ends by saying that the UPDA has gone into hiding to plan new strategies.

Odong Latek

Perhaps there is a sense of desperation and wounded pride in those who tend to cling to these viewpoints. When one looks at the ordinary wananchi in Gulu town and most likely others in the district, doubts emerge. Having experienced the brunt of the war, the Gulu people have developed a resentment for those of their kind who used to holler "fight" and are now set on sweeping back into town to vie for prestigious positions. The National Resistance Council elections in the district are now just round the corner.

Inquiry

A Commission of Inquiry into alleged atrocities the NRA might have committed during the war, is currently going about the district collecting evidence. Tinyefuza did not dispute the work of the commission, composed of security officers and civilians, but he expressed a personal view that their work will be extremely difficult. He commented that in the confusion of some battle situations, it was hard to tell who killed whom or who did what. However, the Brig also stressed that those in the NRA who had committed atrocities should be punished.

Another important factor that eased the situation, has been the expanded use of the Local Defence Units, made up of local people and armed by the NRA. They take over the security of those areas won back from the rebels. This has significantly lessened the inevitable tensions that would have arisen, if the NRA also took upon itself the mantle of an occupying force. Both Tinyefuza and Kerim highly praised the role of these men, many not so long ago, rebels themselves.

Gulu is a quiet town. The parts we toured showed little of the effects of the war. Most structures merely need a new coat of paint. Due to the absence of electricity (which is being restored), quite a number of establishments have generators. At night, Col Kerim said, many people congregate for perhaps conversations or if finances permit a drink, at these places. When we passed Owino Market, at about 8:15 pm. there were still people

making purchases. The leading demand by town dwellers centered on the revival of transnight discos, to liven up things at night. During the day, there is little to contrast Gulu with any other Ugandan town of similar size.

There is now an exodus of people who have been refugees in the town returning to their homes. However, as one man noted worriedly, it is a serious decision, because one does not know what to expect. He lamented that the little relief aid they can get from the office of the District Administrator or that of the Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister, cannot sustain someone with a family. This is especially if one has to start from scratch. Another related problem, is the fact that transport to these outlying areas is limited, not only by its absence, but also by the bad conditions of the roads.

Balanced Diet

Along the road to Awac, we stopped over at an NRA unit. The first thing that strikes one, is the amount of effort taken to be self-sufficient in all aspects. Perhaps the basic fighting equipment is imported, but much of the rest is improvised. There are no pup-tents but intricately grassy made low-slung huts. Col Kerim disclosed that the NRA had a centralized distribution system for food at all units. At the time of our arrival two carcasses were being butchered to supply each man in the unit with an average of half a kilogram of meat per week. Beside the meat, there were other food-stuffs, including beans, home-grown tomatoes, occasionally cabbages and of course maize meal. Col Kerim emphasized that they try to provide a balanced diet for the troops and this is reflected in the healthy appearance of the men themselves.

Tinyefuza constantly harped upon the return of peace in Gulu District. His commitment to this objective was quite evident, "Many are only interested in battles, but the most important thing now, is peace."

Peace

Quite a number of schools have reopened, health centers are being repaired and supplied with drugs (when available), but much more is needed and Gulu District cannot do it all alone.

The three year war, in Gulu District has done nothing for the local wananchi or for the country as a whole, except intensify our poverty and underdevelopment. The fact that it is over, is cause for some celebration. Perhaps then the Brigadier should now reconsider lifting his ban on discos and give the Gulu wananchi a chance to live it up. They certainly deserve it.

*** Buganda Elders Call for Restoration of King**

34000001c Kampala THE GUIDE in English
16 Aug 89 pp 1-2, 8

[Article by the GUIDE reporters: "Elders Petition NRM for Other Kingdoms"]

[Text] Buganda Elders have taken the government of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) to task over

Uganda's future and called for the immediate restoration of the Kabaka and all the other Kings of Uganda abolished by Obote in 1966.

Government has also been petitioned to restore the federal system of government which the Baganda opted for when they agreed to a merger with the rest of Uganda as protected and enshrined in the 1962 constitution abrogated by Obote in 1966.

In a statement read to the Commission of Inquiry into Violation of Human Rights sitting at the Senior Prisons Officers' Mess on Wednesday August 9th, the Buganda Elders through their spokesman Mr. E. K. Mulira declared that the people of Buganda had spilled their blood in the defence of their country. In order to recover what was lost as was the case in the Lowero Triangle where, he said, their skulls litter the road sides.

Drawing parallels with the return of the Aga Khan's property by the NRM government, the Baganda elders declared that any delay to effect recovery of their cultural heritage and revival of the federal system could not be endured any longer, lest it led to "permanent scars".

The elders who drew up a comprehensive 14-page memorandum entitled "The Breaking of law as the source of violation of the Human Rights in Uganda", gave a historical background of what they called the rule of law in Buganda followed by a summary of various agreements Buganda has signed with Britain. It shows what went wrong and what Buganda has lost and finally proposes what the elders believe are solutions to the woes of the country.

Under section V subtitled "The necessary Reform", the elders of Buganda said whereas they did not aim at aggrandising on other people's property or inhibiting other people's progress, they nevertheless bitterly resented others interfering with what is their own, saying they were unhappy, their neighbours through the power of the gun had come and ruined their heritage.

They described a "rank ingratitude and failure to recognise our contribution" NRM's reluctance to restore their Kabakaship, saying, "inspite of our supreme sacrifice, when we ask for that which we fought for, we are being ignored and we are erroneously being regarded as sectarian—a concept which is foreign to Baganda."

Defending the revival of the federal system, the elders told the heavily-packed Human Rights Commission that Baganda valued the 1962 [Constitution] because in it, they had agreed to merge with the rest of Uganda and that there would have been no independence for Uganda in 1962 if Buganda has chosen to remain under British Protection earlier agreed on in the 1900 agreement with Buganda. "But we chose in good faith to merge with the rest of the Ugandans".

The elders argued that Buganda was represented on the committee which drew up the 1955 agreement and on the constitutional committee of the 1962 constitution by all shades of opinion in the country. "The members of Buganda constitutional committee were anxious to preserve the ancient and modern, the approach of, from known to the unknown".

The commission was told that a lot of people in Uganda enjoy [the country's] national wealth without actually contributing to its contribution. They simply have a good time, they added, at the expense of other people's sweat, a feature they said the federal system did not allow; because all Ugandans would then go back to their areas and develop them "instead of conglomerating here in Kampala."

They attributed the diminished coffee and cotton production in Buganda to the what they described as people's tiredness in producing for the benefit of gunholders.

It would appear that we got rid of the colonial rulers, only to replace them with gunrulers. Surely, is this the meaning of our independence?" the elders asked.

Buganda, the elders declared, is the heart of Uganda. They said Mwalimu Nyerere recognised this and advised Obote to come to terms with Baganda, but Obote announced that a "good Muganda is a dead one". They said the 1962 constitution was a good starting point because "all Ugandans had agreed on that framework".

The elders lamented the loss of their freedom, kingship and royal institutions, political institutions, shrines, the disappearance of Buganda as a Unit, Buganda land and language which used to be the official language as a result of Obote's malice.

Answering questions from leading counsel Mr E. Sekandi after reading the statement as to who owned kingship, Mr Mulira said that Baganda's king is part and parcel of Buganda and Baganda.

And answering commissioner Nagenda as to whether to be called a Muganda was important and had any relation to Kingship, Mulira replied that to be a Muganda or Baganda had a direct relation with the Kingship because the Baganda and their king are inseparable.

He added that unless royal institutions are restored in Buganda, the Baganda young generation who were born after the abolition of hereditary kingship by Obote in 1966 will never experience the importance and relationship of royal institutions in their lives.

Answering Commissioner Sekandi as to whether the Baganda will accept [the] government offer if it decided to compensate the Baganda for the loss incurred during the 1966, Mr Mulira emphatically replied that Buganda's case is not compensation which is disturbing them but restoration of Buganda's royal institution to be headed by a hereditary king.

Mr Mulira also proposed that people currently loitering on verandahs of shops should go back to their home

areas to develop their places using the Marshal plan which was applied to German in second World war.

When asked where funds to implement the Marshal plan to develop the areas will come from, Mr Mulira told the commissioners that some friendly countries will assist by granting donations to implement the project.

*** Country's Policy Toward AIDS Outlined**

34000710a Kampala *THE NEW VISION* in English
11 Aug 89 pp 6-7

[Text] Uganda's AIDS Control Programme has been regarded internationally as an innovative one in the fight against the spread of AIDS. Given more money and the help of the World Health Organization it is poised to garner a measure of success. Below we run the AIDS situation in Uganda now.

By June this year 149 countries had reported about 159,000 cases to the World Health Organization (WHO). Of these, 100,000 cases are from USA, 25,000 from Africa, 22,000 from Europe, 8,000 cases are from South America and 1,400 from Australia and 400 from Asia.

It is estimated that up to 250,000 people could have died of AIDS worldwide by now. And 750,000 globally is estimated for the year 2,000.

The disease is not yet stable, but continues to spread into previously non-infected area. For instance, in West Africa from 0 to 4.6 percent between 1987 and 1989.

The first cases of AIDS in Uganda were reported towards the end of 1982, when 17 traders at Kasensero fishing landing port in Rakai District died. Kasensero was famous for illicit trade and smuggling between Bukoba and Uganda. All these traders had stayed in Bukoba for long periods.

From 1983 onwards the disease has spread to Rakai town, Masaka and through the Trans Africa Highway to Kampala and towns in the eastern border, and is now reported from virtually all districts.

The number of cases has been doubling every 6 months and the cumulative number of cases for March 1989 is 7,573. The true number of cases could be three or more times higher.

Men and women are equally affected. The age distribution of cases and "carriers" shows that the majority (80 percent) of the cases occur between 16-40 years; 10 percent occur between 0-5 years, and 10 percent over 40 years. There are virtually no cases between 6-15 years.

Cases have now been reported from all districts. However, the districts of Masaka, Rakai and Kampala are most affected and over 60 percent of the patients come from these districts.

An attempt has also been made to identify high risk and low risk groups. Prostitutes have highest infection rates (over 90 percent). Fortunately school children (5-14 years) are relatively free from the disease.

Out of a total of nearly 8,000 cases less than 10 cases have been reported in this age group. Fortunately this age group 15 years and less constitutes about 50 percent of the population. However, cases are increasing among the 0-5 years age group due to mother to child transmission.

The medical and social consequences of AIDS should not be underestimated. Hospital beds are overcrowded with AIDS patients that need long term terminal care. Almost 100 percent of these patients will die within two years. These chronic patients will greatly overstretch the limited hospital beds.

For instance 30 percent of beds in medical wards excluding surgical, children's wards and obstetrics and gynecology in Mulago, Rubaga and Kitovu are occupied by AIDS patients, who will die after a few months. About 70 percent of patients in TB wards are AIDS related.

Besides AIDS will lead to outbreak of other diseases associated with AIDS. 60 percent tuberculosis patients in Mulago are associated with AIDS and 92 percent herpes zoster is also associated with AIDS. AIDS will increase death in infancy and therefore the benefits of the accelerated child survival programmes will be neutralized or reversed.

The social economic consequences of AIDS on communities will be heavy. AIDS kills the young and most socio-economic age groups in whom government has invested so much in education and medical care. The loss of people in this age group will adversely affect agricultural production and development in all sectors.

Dependents, especially the young and the elderly, will put considerable strain on societies. Orphans and widows will need special programmes to assist them. In Rakai and Masaka districts at least 10,000 orphans will need to be considered and supported.

As the epidemic progresses, social pressure will be intense and prejudice, victimization and constant abuse of human rights will increase. AIDS could become a serious political issue in future.

It could destabilize regimes due to public pressure and its negative influence on development. Already several infected African students have been deported from Eastern Bloc countries.

Some of the frustrations with AIDS, is that very little can be done to cure the patient or prevent healthy carriers eventually developing the disease.

Risk Factors

Local research has shown that the greatest risk factor is sexual contact which is responsible for over 90 percent of the transmission. There is evidence that sexually transmitted diseases and genital ulcers such as syphilis, gonorrhea, enhance and amplify transmission.

Blood transfusion has been responsible for about 1 percent of the transmission, while mother to newborn transmission accounts for about 10 percent of the cases.

Surveys of household contacts of AIDS patients at home has shown that only the sexual partners get infected. There is no evidence that casual non sexual contact with carriers or with AIDS patients can transmit the AIDS virus. There is no evidence that mosquitoes or bed bugs transmit AIDS infection. It is therefore considered safe to look after the AIDS patients at home.

The National AIDS Control Programme (ACP) was established in 1986, almost five years after the onset of the epidemic. It is a specialized unit in the Ministry of Health, responsible for coordination and technical leadership of the programme. Much of the implementation is undertaken outside the Ministry of Health.

Several ministries such as Defence, Education, Information and Broadcasting, Local Government, NGOs and churches have programmes/activities coordinated through the Ministry of Health. In addition the churches and NGOs have made a big contribution.

At the central level there are about a dozen professional staff assisted by about five technical specialists from WHO. The main areas focussed are:

- Health education;
- Safe blood supply (laboratory and blood transfusion services and protection of health workers and the public gloves, syringes (about 1,000,000);
- Monitoring the epidemic (epidemiology and surveillance);
- Patient care; and
- Rehabilitation of the Uganda Virus Research Institute.

At the district, a new cadre of staff (the district health educators) have been recruited, trained and given transport and logistics. The district medical officers have assumed full responsibility of the activities in their areas. Thirty three Suzukis and 33 motorcycles for transport and funds for running costs have now been secured through WHO and UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund]. At the grass roots the RCs [Resistance Committees], community leaders, churches, schools have been mobilized to take the programme nearer to the people through a programme of social mobilization.

The Uganda ACP was reviewed in December 1988 by the Ministry of Health and an international team of experts. They recommended expansion and modification of the programme.

Decentralization of activities to the districts was also highly recommended. Areas which had not received adequate attention such as patient care, provision of supplies were emphasized and will be taken care of in the 1989 programme. The international review team concluded that the programme's progress was very satisfactory and needed more funding from the international community.

The emergency programme became effective with assistance from the WHO. In June 1987 a donors' conference was held, at which US\$7.4 million (specific activities US\$2.5 million) was pledged for the first year.

The funds are administered by WHO as trust funds on our behalf and that of donors. So far virtually the entire financial input are from WHO, who have an accountant directly seconded to the programmes. The cumulative total of unspecified general purpose funds disbursed for the programme from WHO since 1987 is as follows:

Year	Cumulative Total Disbursed (US\$)
At 31 Dec. 1987	845,693
At 30 Sept. 1988	1,738,000
At 31 Dec. 1988	3,224,000
At 31 May 1989	3,861,000

In addition there are also funds earmarked for the following specific projects:

- Blood bank US\$2 m from EEC;
- Northern Uganda Control Programme US\$1 m from Italy;
- School health education US\$2 m by UNICEF;
- Counter funds from the Ministry of Health.

The extent of additional contributions by non-governmental organizations of various form cannot be quantified. It should be pointed out that the purchasing capacity of the pledged offshore funds have been somewhat eroded due to devaluation of the US\$ against European currencies, where the bulk of the supplies were purchased in 1987, 1988.

Activities

The activities of the ACP so far undertaken are based on two protocols agreed to jointly between government of Uganda and WHO is i.e. an emergency six months programme which ended in December 1987 followed by a medium term plan. During the period the main concern has been mobilization of resources, training, development of infrastructure and strengthening and rehabilitation of institutions to meet the challenge of AIDS. The main areas emphasized have been Health education, blood screening and blood transfusion, provision of supplies e.g. gloves, needles, surveillance and operational research and patient care.

Health Education and Launching of the District Health Education Campaign and Social Mobilization

There are no vaccines or drugs against AIDS. Therefore health education and information remain the greatest weapons against AIDS.

The Health Education Division has been strengthened both at central and district level by recruitment of more

specialized staff and training of 33 District Health Educators (DHE) and 66 Assistant District Health Educators (ADHEs) material design, and production at the central level has been undertaken.

A printing press for health learning materials is being obtained with assistance from UNDP [United Nations Development Program].

District mobilization activities are well under way. The district health campaign was launched on 28th March 1989 in Kabale. Kabale district was chosen as a model district. Mbarara district was similarly covered in May 1989. The campaign has five levels of training involving district health personnel followed by RC V, RC IV, RC III, RC II, and RC I within two weeks.

In April 1989 President Museveni launched a national social mass mobilization effort through a multisectoral workshop. The participants included the DAs, DMOs political mobilizers, RC V from all the districts. The experiences from Kabale and Mbarara will be utilized in other districts most of who will have their district mobilization to prevent the spread of AIDS before the end of 1989.

An important ACP activity has been carried out through the School Health Emergency AIDS Programme supported by UNICEF and has covered 30 out of 33 districts, with 2,400 science teachers participating in workshops. 2,450 primary teachers and 100 secondary school teachers have also been trained as trainers.

About 600 secondary schools in $\frac{3}{4}$ of the country were covered last year with the participation of nearly 200,000 students. A new science syllabus for schools incorporating AIDS was also launched. About 20,000 school kits were distributed.

A seminar to finalize the secondary schools science syllabus was concluded in June 1989. A medium term programme for schools has been developed with Ministry of Education with funding from UNICEF to assist ACP's aim to protect the upcoming generation from the AIDS virus.

In Makerere university an association to promote AIDS prevention has been formed in May 1989, a Seminar for over 10,000 students, workers was held at Makerere. The attendance was exceptionally heavy due to participation of a renowned musician, Philly Lutaya, who publicly announced he had AIDS. More seminars are planned.

At least 30 seminars have been conducted at the central level for training of trainers. Seminars have been held for DMOs, medical superintendents, laboratory technicians, DHEs, nursing officers, health inspectors, women resistance committee V. District Administrations and RC V chairmen, Uganda Journalists Association, counsellors, Rotarians, Lions clubs and integrated Ministry of Health/NGOs, seminars in 16 districts, 50 district political mobilizers were trained in March 1989, and will help with social mobilization.

Special workshops with the RCV have been undertaken in some districts in Eastern and Western Uganda. A

special workshop for the DMOs of northern (seven districts) Uganda was conducted in April 1989.

A unit to coordinate AIDS control activities has now been developed in the NRA [National Resistance Army]. A public health department has been established, 52 health educators and mobilizers have been trained. Recently 405 political commissioners within the army were trained in Jinja and Mbale. A seminar for NRA medical officers has been conducted.

Five thousand police and prisons officers have been sensitized through a seminar. A workshop for senior prisons officers throughout the country to enable them become trainers was held in Luzira on June 13th 1989.

A seminar for journalists was conducted twice last year and in May 1989 during the mass media week. Radio messages have been intensified through the use of "traditional drums" to warn against indiscriminate sex.

The use of "the drum" on Radio and TV at prime times has produced dramatic effects. The use of theater, plays, musical messages has broken the monotony of the messages and has also helped in disseminating the message.

Close to seven million pamphlets and four tons of badges, stickers, etc. for the literate have been distributed in 10 languages.

Manuals for health care workers and another patient care have also been prepared. Guidelines for AIDS patient care have been prepared and those for blood transfusion provisional guidelines have also been issued to all DMOs and medical superintendents.

Even before government mobilized adequate resources, the churches and NGOs role was significant in health education. The church and schools and the RC system have been used in rural areas where there are no health infrastructures.

Seminars for the clergy and bishops in over 20 districts have been completed. Over 200,000 volunteers were recruited through the church to spread the word on AIDS in rural areas last year using the bible as the only incentive. The church/NGOs is also helping a lot in patient care, home visiting and counselling e.g. TASO, the counselling clinic at Mulago.

Blood Screening

According to studies by ACP 10-15 percent blood voluntarily donated can be infected and is not to be used. Screening the blood is therefore very important.

One limitation's cost (each test is about U.S. two dollars and each screening center costs about U.S. 23,000 dollars to run adequately per year). In addition the need for electricity, running water and expertise further compound the obstacles for proper operation of these laboratories upcountry.

The ELISA machines for detecting infection have been installed in 26 screening centers throughout the country.

Construction of the Nakasero Blood Bank has started by Roko Construction and will be completed by December, 1989. It is sponsored by EEC. In the meantime, an interim blood bank for Kampala and surrounding hospitals (40 miles radius) is working well at the Institute of Public Health, Mulago. Its current capacity is 300 to 500 bottles per month.

Ten regional blood centers will be developed with assistance from the World Bank First Health Project.

A rapid five minute test which does not need electricity or sophisticated equipment is being evaluated for use in upcountry hospitals. Preliminary findings indicate that the accuracy of this test equals that of the sophisticated ELISA machines in the Uganda Virus Institute. The applicability of these tests upcountry is now being tested, but accuracy can be low in unexperienced hands.

While no cure is available for patients with AIDS, some relief of suffering can be offered by treatment of symptoms and the humane care by medical staff, the family and the community. The ACP Review recommended more emphasis on this area.

Plans for adequate and reasonable facilities for patient care have been included in the current ACP budget for 1989. Already four AIDS clinics have been opened at Mulago, Nsambya, Rubaga and Kitovu.

Facility appraisal and expansion to the districts is going on since March 1989. Several training courses/seminars have been undertaken for the districts in central and south western Uganda.

Clinical trials on two local herbs have indicated limited beneficial value. The patients so treated improved briefly up to four months after which they rapidly deteriorated and died. Even the "herb doctor" who had lived for three years supplying us the drug died in December 1988.

So far there is no drug that can cure AIDS, but there are a few drugs that can prolong life for a few months namely:

- AZT, life expectancy can be increased for one to two years, but expensive and costs U.S. \$10,000 per year.
- Pentamidine aerosol, an old drug used for treatment of sleeping sickness, given licence in 1989 to treat chest complications of AIDS, also just supportive.
- GLQ223, from a Chinese cucumber roots, selectively kills sick white blood cells, but still in test tube level, no human trial yet.
- Vaccines are many years away, at least two to five years or even ten years.

CDI Receptor Decoys competes with the virus at the white blood cell surface and prevents virus entry. Still in test tube level.

Operational epidemiological studies will be undertaken during the period, with emphasis on search for cofactors responsible for transmissions. Appropriate social studies will be undertaken as well to look for social behavior that enhances transmission.

The Uganda Virus Institute (UVRI) in the meantime has adequate funds from ODA [Official of Development Aid?] (1 million pounds) for rehabilitation of the UVRI. Work on this rehabilitation has started and involves physical renovation, and transport.

Several staff at the UVRI will undergo further training abroad during the period, technicians and some ACP epidemiology staff. Studies in the following areas are being undertaken in collaboration with TB, longitudinal epidemiological survey (Rakai) on co-factors, vertical transmission of AIDS (mother to child transmission) and social behavior survey.

Impact

The laws against immorality are being reviewed to protect minors below the age of 18 years against sugar daddies/mummies.

But in general terms people are changing their sexual behavior towards zero grazing. For instance a recent study in Rakai indicated that 93 percent of the people had changed their sex behavior.

The AIDS situation will continue to get worse. Even if we succeeded in halting transmission today the number of cases will continue to rise since these were infected many years back. Increased awareness will lead to an increased demand for supplies by both medical staff and the public. So far over 90 percent pledges for the year have been paid by the international community and utilized accordingly. Unfortunately these funds cannot meet the ever increasing demands for drugs, supplies, activities, etc. More assistance will be needed.

* Country Receives Severe Economic Setback

34000713a Kampala *THE NEW VISION* in English
22 Aug 89 pp 6-7

[Article by special correspondent: "Collapse of Coffee Quotas: Eye-Opener"; first paragraph is introductory paragraph]

[Text] On June 30, the International Coffee Organisation (ICO) Executive Board meeting in London dropped the quota system and the price of Robusta coffee fell to US\$60 cents per pound. This free market system, will be in place for at least two years. The writer tries to analyse the implications to the economy of Uganda which depends on coffee for its 95% foreign earnings.

During the colonial days, colonies were compelled by their colonial masters to grow crops which were termed cash crops while other colonies went into mining. These crops/minerals were either demanded as raw materials in factories of the coloniser country or as foreign exchange earners for the coloniser country.

In the case of Britain, after the American War of Independence, Britain's textile mills, which depended mostly on the raw cotton from America, were starved of that particular raw material and, as a consequence, Britain

started a campaign of having its demand of cotton satisfied from her dependencies (colonies). Thus at the turn of this century, Uganda joined all other British colonies whose soils were suitable for cotton growing in order to satisfy Britain's demand for raw cotton.

As for the development of coffee in the Commonwealth countries, Britain felt that the share of coffee in the world market from the British Commonwealth was so insignificant that in the first half of the twentieth century, Britain started encouraging her colonies to grow coffee as an export crop. So many of her colonies, including Uganda, started growing coffee. Other dependencies were encouraged to grow cocoa and others tea etc. while those endowed with minerals took to mining. Coffee, cocoa, tea and tobacco were acutely needed by Britain to help her earn dollars from the USA because of the former's weakened position following the Second World War. These dollars were needed for, among other reasons, paying for the Lend Lease Programme between Britain and USA. The Lend Lease Programme was the programme under which the USA gave a lot of weapons to fight against the Germans in expectation of payment later. After the war, Britain's industrial state was incapacitated. So, therefore, she resorted to the colonies to grow crops which were exported to USA in order to earn dollars that could be used for the purpose of paying this debt.

In this drive by the imperial powers to establish primary commodity exports in colonies, we should note the following:

- That these commodities were exported in their raw form so that all the processing was done abroad. The result of this was that colonies could not develop industries to process the commodities that they produced and also could not acquire skills associated with such processing activities. Lastly, the value added on these commodities and the linkages associated with their processing were taking place abroad so that the producer countries could not benefit from the spinoff activities.
- That in most cases these primary commodity exports had very little, if any, internal demand. This implied that if anything happened to the external demand for these crops, the producer would be stuck with heaps of the products which were of no use to him.
- That in most countries, the primary exports were restricted to one or two commodities. This made the country more vulnerable to the vagaries of the external markets. This was more so since the imports of such a country were tied to its export earnings.
- That these primary commodity exports, used up the most fertile soils leaving the marginal ones for the production of food crops. This resulted into food shortages in some countries which hitherto had no food problems and, therefore, food importation became imperative in such countries.
- That this unchecked expansion of export commodity production by administrative fiat led to overproduction of some commodities. This overproduction which, under normal circumstances, would have been checked by

market forces was maintained by the formation of various bodies which, through various agreements, guaranteed that these products would be bought at a given price. A good example is the International Coffee Organisation (ICO). Some developed countries, in order to keep Least Developed Countries (LDC) producing certain commodities for them, entered into agreements that were supposed to guarantee Least Developed Countries certain levels of incomes in case the prices of their commodity exports fell drastically.

Such agreements include: Stabilisation of Export Earnings (STABEX) from a given list of agricultural products. This agreement is between European Economic Community (EEC) and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and seeks to remedy the harmful effects of the instability of export earnings and to help the ACP states overcome one of the main obstacles to the stability, profitability and sustained growth of their economies.

The other one is the support of Mineral Production (SYSMIN) whose aim is to stabilise export earnings from a given list of mineral exports between EEC and the ACP states.

It should have been clear to everyone that this type of agreement where some countries are supposed to develop on the goodwill of others is rather dangerous. This indeed has been vindicated by the present collapse in the Coffee Agreement that has exposed the coffee producers to the realities of the false system under which they have been operating.

The National Resistance Movement has been aware of the situation and that is why in the Ten-Point Programme it is stated, in the main objectives, that it shall endeavour to build an independent, integrated, self-sustaining national economy. The introduction to the Ten-Point Programme points out: "Uganda is a backward former colony of Britain that was given formal political independence in 1962, it inherited the economic distortions characteristic of many other colonies: reliance on a few export crops like coffee and tobacco which suffered from the incurable problem of having unexpanding demand on the world market. These are non-essentials and merely beverages that are, moreover, being produced by many rivalling backward countries. Uganda also lacks industries of a basic type e.g. iron and steel, chemical industries and others."

Elsewhere in the Ten-Point Programme it is pointed out that there was: "wastage of labour and resources in the overproduction of export crops—e.g. coffee—which, being beverages, are less essential in comparison with items like grain that have got a more reliable market apart from assisting our own economy in many ways including nurturing a healthy population."

The process of building such an economy (independent, integrated and self-sustained) entails among other things:

- Diversifying "agriculture away from the narrow confines of producing requirements for external markets

to producing a wider spectrum of crops for our market requirements and our industrialisation process in addition to exporting these to other countries.

- Building industries that use local raw materials to substitute for imported consumer goods, and
- Construction of basic industries to provide inputs to the sectors that are essential for the development process to proceed smoothly.

In this regard, when the NRM came to power in 1986, coffee was contributing over 95 percent of Uganda export earnings but as of 1988 this had been reduced to 82 percent. The same coffee was contributing about 67 percent to the government revenue but by 1988/89, it was contributing about 16 percent.

Although the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government has been trying to reduce the dependence on coffee, it has not been able to substantially achieve significant results mainly because of the time factor and the limited resources available. However, the need to minimise this heavy burden of dependence still remains the main objective.

What are the immediate implications of the collapse of the coffee agreement to Uganda?

- As mentioned above, the budgetary objectives are likely to be affected minimally because government had anticipated the fall in price.
- Uganda's foreign exchange earnings, however, are likely to decline and hence the ability to import the necessary consumer goods and raw materials required for the rehabilitation process will correspondingly be reduced, so will the country's ability to repay the past debts.
- Because the ability to repay debts will be reduced, this is likely to affect the foreign resources inflow especially those resources that are tied to being up-to-date in debt repayments. Government can, however, make arrangements to ensure that these problems are obviated.

Lessons to be learnt from the collapse of the coffee agreement:

- The fragility and vulnerability of primary products fluctuations of the world market forces should be clear to everyone and, therefore, the need to look for alternatives should be an urgent matter on our economic agenda.
- Least Developed Countries should wake up to the realities of life and stop assuming that the rest of the world owes them a living.

Although it could be argued that the Developed Countries (DCs) exploited the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the past and continue to do so indirectly, we should not take it for granted that because of this they have an obligation to help us out of the present economic quagmire. We must take initiative in restructuring our distorted economies to serve our needs primarily and those of others secondarily.

- The need for commodity export diversification and the building of viable integrated national economies should be clear to everyone in developing countries. What has happened to coffee may have happened to any other primary product.
- The collapse, if it is sustained, may in the long run be a blessing to us because with prices being determined by market forces those marginal and inefficient producers of coffee who have been kept in the market by the artificial high quota prices are likely to leave the coffee production and turn their good soils to the production of alternative crops that are more beneficial to them.

Lastly, although this collapse has come up now, we should note that technological advancement in the West has been undermining the production of primary products. First, synthetic fibres replaced fibres and, who knows, the advancement in the field of biotechnology may eliminate the need for DCs to import tropical products which may be grown intensively in green houses and in shorter periods than we are doing under natural conditions.

Examples of Natural Fibres and Their Synthetic Substitutes

A. Natural Fibres	Artificial (Synthetic) Fibres
1. Cotton	1. Rayon
2. Wool	2. Nylon
3. Silk	3. Polyesters
4. Jute	4. Vinyl fibres
5. Hemp	5. Vinyl and amyl resins
B. Ropes twines, fibre boards and paper	
Natural Fibres	Synthetic Fibres
1. Silk	1. Acetate
2. Manila (paper)	2. Rayon
3. Sisal	3. Vinyl fibres
4. Bow-string hemp	
5. Jute	
C. Rubber products	
Natural rubber	Synthetic rubber

Debt Rescheduling Agreement 'Positive Indicator'

*MB2010060689 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The new agreement reached by South Africa with major foreign creditors to reschedule the country's debt is good news. It may also be taken as a positive indicator, reflecting the perceptions of informed international observers about present economic policy management.

The agreement has been reached in the face of intense pressures from anti-South African groups for banks to demand much larger instalments and so put additional strains on the economy. Evidently the bankers concerned were unmoved by these demands. In fact, the agreement effectively extends the deadline by which South Africa has to repay the 21 billion rand caught in the net of the standstill from next June to December 1993.

During the period a total four billion rand inside the net will be repaid in eight instalments, a far cry from the billions demanded by the sanctioners. This does not mean however, that the authorities' obligation to maintain a restrictive economic policy has been lifted. The terms for repayment in the new debt agreement are much the same as those under the present agreement, which left little room for maneuver. In addition, substantially larger amounts are due on debts falling outside the standstill agreement—more than five billion rand next year alone. South Africa will have to continue shouldering the burden of capital outflows at a time when the country needs the money to expand the economy and supply jobs for the growing population. It will have to continue to keep the current account of the balance of payments in a healthy surplus so that it could continue to meet commitments as promptly as in the past.

So, for the foreseeable future, there can be question of letting up on strict monetary and fiscal policies. Nevertheless, the successful conclusion of a new debt agreement represents a substantial achievement at a time when international political pressure has focused on financial sanctions. South Africa has succeeded in heading off the crisis that would have arisen if the foreign creditors had demanded repayment of the full amount owing in June next year.

Prospects of such as crisis had cast a dark cloud over the outlook for the economy in 1990. Lifting it will undoubtedly result in improved confidence in the business community. Furthermore, the agreement is expected to improve the climate for negotiations on debt outside the standstill net and assurances have also been received that South Africa's credit lines for trade purposes will not be cut. Still, as long as South Africa has to be an exporter of capital, rather than an importer as in the past, its growth potential will be severely curtailed. Dr Chris Stals, governor of the Reserve Bank, puts the figure at 2.5 percent a year, less than the population growth rate.

The challenge for the future is to regain the country's past standing as an attractive haven for foreign capital investment. Meeting the challenge successfully depends as much on political normalization as on economic policy.

Commentary Notes Obstacles to Namibian Elections

*MB1910192289 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Station commentary: "Obstacles in the Way of the Namibian Election"]

[Text] The (?warning started) by the administrator general of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, that there are still factors which could lead to the failure of Resolution 435 needs to be taken seriously by all who have the territory's future at heart. It has now emerged that SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] is pressurizing the United Nations to drop the requirement on the two-thirds majority being needed in the constituent assembly to approve constitutional details. A spokesman from the National Patriotic Front, Mr (M. Mobuku), claims that SWAPO, having realized how critical it is going to be to win a two-thirds majority in the election next month, has been lobbying UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari to have relevant changes made to Resolution 435. Other sources in Windhoek say Mr Ahtisaari has already indicated that he does not want a two-thirds majority clause contained in the constituent assembly proclamation.

South Africa, on the other hand, insists on the incorporation of the 1982 document, which constituted an international agreement and was ratified by the United Nations Security Council early this year. Agreed to by all the Namibian political parties, the 1982 document stipulates a Western type of multiparty democracy in Namibia, and the protection of fundamental human rights. What seems clear is that any tampering with the 1982 document would amount to renegotiation of Resolution 435 and subsequent United Nations resolutions concerning Namibian independence. This matter undoubtedly formed the (?focal) point for discussion at a meeting in Windhoek today between South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Mr Pienaar, Mr Ahtisaari, and representatives of all 10 political parties contesting this month's election.

Another important matter which undoubtedly received attention is the intimidation of voters. While SWAPO has received much publicity in pointing a finger at the South-West African Police, intimidation by SWAPO is rife and largely ignored. These are matters which need to be [word indistinct] sorted out by all concerned if next month's election is to be free and fair.

Dobson Said To Issue Statement Claiming ANC Links

*MB2010065489 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] A former Bureau for Information employee, Mrs Sue Dobson, who disappeared from her job in the office of the South-West Africa/Namibia administrator general in Windhoek, says she and her husband, Peter, had been ANC [African National Congress] activists for the past 10 years.

Twenty-six-year old Mrs Dobson left her job suddenly on 23 September. SAPA says that in a statement issued through the ANC's office in London, the Dobsons said they had operated undetected and, as they put it, with great success. In gaining access to the plans and strategies of security organizations in Pretoria, such as the National Intelligence Service and the Defense Force.

They said they had left for London last month when it had become clear that they were in danger and had been instructed by the ANC to leave South Africa.

Earlier this week, the head of the Bureau for Information, Mr Dave Steward, said it could be expected that the ANC would fabricate as much propaganda as possible from Mrs Dobson's case. He said Mrs Dobson had been a junior official who had not had access to sensitive material.

Neil van Heerden Discusses Political Change, Talks

*MB2010085589 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] The director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, says the biggest and most immediate challenge facing South Africa is to change the process of politics of confrontation to a process of politics by means of negotiation.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth, Mr van Heerden said that the dramatic and positive political developments in southern Africa in the recent past had changed the negative outlook held for the future of countries in the region.

He pointed out that the peace process had a momentum of its own, one that will be difficult to reverse. Mr van Heerden said South Africans would have to improve their skills in dealing with the problems facing the negotiation process.

He added that creating an awareness of the situation would help contribute to the country's internal decision-making process.

Protest Marches Set; Winnie Mandela To Lead

*MB2010095789 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0700 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Permission has been refused for two marches this weekend, but the organizers of one of them say it will go ahead anyway.

MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] spokesman (Frans Baleni) says the decision has been made to go ahead with the march in Welkom because the magistrate and the town council were totally negative when they asked questions about the march during the application.

But a planned march in Fort Beaufort won't be happening. The Border Council of Churches, who organized the march together with the MDM, says permission was refused in terms of the Public Safety Act.

Permission has been granted for a march in Stanger. The march is being held to demand the renaming of Couper Street in Stanger to Chief Albert Luthuli Street. The march will be led by Mrs Luthuli and Winnie Mandela.

Security Official Says Emergency Countered Unrest

*MB2010090189 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Security spokesman for law and order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, says South Africa is the first country in the world to successfully withstand a terrorist onslaught.

Brig Mellet added that since the government had permitted peaceful protest marches, the enthusiasm to participate in them had declined.

Brig Mellet said at the annual conference of the Natal branch of the Security Association of South Africa that the unrest in the country that started in 1984 failed dismally because of the implementation of the national state of emergency. Six months later the ANC [African National Congress] openly admitted that their policy of creating unrest had failed because of the implementation of the state of emergency.

Brig Mellet said the proof of the police's successes against terrorism could be found in the amount of weaponry and number of terrorists that had been captured in the past year.

Brig Mellet said the ANC and the South African Communist Party had done everything possible to rekindle the unrest and violence before and during the general elections, to set the stage for the military wing of the organization to start large-scale terrorist activities and thus disrupt the elections or prevent them from taking place.

Ex-Policeman Claims Helped Kill ANC Members

*MB2010075639 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] A former security policeman who was due to hang this morning for killing an elderly farmer in Brits has been granted a stay of execution. This follows an affidavit he made yesterday in which he claims he was part of a police death squad responsible for the deaths of a number of ANC [African National Congress] linked people, including prominent civil rights lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge. Carmel Rickard reports.

In his statement, (Butale Nophelele) claimed he was told to kill Mxenge and to make it look like robbery. He said a number of senior police were implicated in the death squad in which he worked. They arrived in Durban to do the killing in November 1981 and first poisoned the lawyer's dogs. Shortly afterwards they ambushed him on his way home from work, took him to the Umlazi cycle stadium where, in his words, we butchered him badly. Nophelele said that afterwards he drove the lawyer's car to the Swazi border and there set it alight.

Police later claimed to have evidence Mxenge was killed by an ANC faction in a fight over money. Following Nophelele's statement there is to be an official investigation into the truth of his claims.

Three Prisoners Executed, One Reprieved

*MB2010084389 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Three more people have been executed at Pretoria's Central Prison.

One of the people due to hang this morning has been given a stay of execution after signing an affidavit yesterday, claiming he was part of a police death squad responsible for the killing of eight political activists. His stay will remain in force until the matter has been fully investigated.

This morning's hangings bring to 45 the number of people executed this year. Sixty people have been given a reprieve.

Court Finds 143 Guilty in Military Coup Attempt

*MB2010092489 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] The Mmbatho Supreme Court has found 143 men guilty of treason following the failed military coup in Bophuthatswana early last year. Mr Justice M. Friedman will begin imposing individual sentences on the defendants from tomorrow.

The soldiers rose up against the Mangope government on 10 February, seizing the president and other leaders before South African troops intervened and put down

the revolt. The judge says it was an act of treason for soldiers to arrest people to whom they have sworn allegiance.

Three Democrats Resign From Party Offices

*MB1910195789 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Three executive officials of the Democratic Party [DP] have resigned from office. Northern Transvaal Regional Chairman Tertius Spies and the regional chairman of the Orange Free State, Dr (Red Kahn), said they were resigning from what they called anti-PFP [Progressive Federal Party] sentiments in the DP. The third official to resign is Mr Paul Osborne, an executive member of the Northern Transvaal region.

Mr Spies told our political staff today that it seemed to be DP sentiment to, as he put it, hide away former members of the PFP. Furthermore, he wasn't convinced that ordinary DP members believed in its policy. Mr Spies will remain a party member. Dr (Kahn) has confirmed that he has resigned from office, but he wouldn't comment on the reasons. He said it was an internal party issue.

DP co-leader Denis Worrall has voiced his regret at the resignations. Dr Worrall said he couldn't accept that there were any anti-PFP feelings in the party, but described the part as a new one with a personality different to the old PFP. DP National Chairman Tiaan van der Merwe also expressed his regret, describing the officials who had resigned as stalwarts.

20 Oct Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2010112189

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Debt Rescheduling 'Well Timed'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 20 October in its page 6 editorial congratulates Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals "on reaching agreement with international creditors on rescheduling \$8 billion of South Africa's foreign debt." The agreement was "well timed to prevent the summit from acting on the debts issue. As a result, there has been much gnashing of teeth at the summit, with Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, calling the banks 'blood-suckers'." "South Africa's success in dealing with its foreign debts does away with one major crisis. However, we may still face some nastiness from the summit."

THE STAR

Prisoners' Release 'Valuable Trial Run'—"Walter Sisulu and his fellow ex-prisoners are back in the world of day-to-day politics and the wisdom of releasing them is becoming apparent by the day," observes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 20 October in a page 14 editorial. "It is only with free

leaders and free debate that the political ideas on both sides can be aired, debated, tested against public opinion and forged into shape for the negotiations that must come. The first releases have served as a valuable trial run for the next steps."

BUSINESS DAY

Editorial on Sanctions, Change—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 October in a page 14 editorial says the "announcement of a new debt rescheduling agreement, like the release of Walter Sisulu and his comrades, does more than cut the ground from under the campaign at Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere to impose financial sanctions on South Africa." "Many people will argue that sanctions have wrought a change in attitude in South Africa. That is half-true; the changes began under Vorster, picked up pace under Botha, flagged after the EPG [Eminent Persons' Group] mission, and have resumed. Sanctions have contributed to the process, but the real pressures are generated within the South African cauldron."

Function, Size of Police Force—"Clearly we need a bigger, better paid and more professional police force," notes a second editorial on the same page. "If this means doubling the size of the force within 10 years, as the police themselves propose, then so be it." However, the "function" of the police force is more important than its size. "The sooner the police accept that their prime function is not to secure the state but to enforce the law and to protect the civil rights of the population, the sooner they will recover the public support which they have lost."

SOWETAN

Columnist Urges Redistribution of Resources—Joe Thloloe writes in his "Perspective" column on page 9 of Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 20 October: "Unless De Klerk commits himself to the principle of a non-racial democratic South Africa, talks with him will not lead to a 'solution'. A few more blacks might be co-opted into the system, but the conflict will continue. Unless the National Party also looks seriously at the question of the redistribution of the resources of this country, there will be no solution."

NEW NATION

Paper Urges 'Discipline' of Masses—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 20-26 October in a page 6 editorial says the "enthusiastic welcome of our leaders has revealed a new sense of purpose on the part of the mass of our people." "In the next few months the regime and its agents will go to great lengths to provoke the people into acts of indiscipline which would enable the regime to gain higher ground. We have reached a stage of struggle where the single factor of discipline would make a decisive difference between an overwhelming victory of the people or anarchy, which could only benefit the

state. We must be disciplined, precisely because we are on the offensive, on high ground, and want to retain our strategic initiative."

CAPE TIMES

Prisoners' Release 'Paid off Handsomely'—State President F.W. de Klerk's "brave gesture" in releasing Walter Sisulu and seven other leaders without conditions "has paid off handsomely so far, creating a big impression abroad without endangering the peace at home," remarks Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 17 October in a page 6 editorial. "Mr Sisulu's offer of a truce reflects the ANC's stated position, requiring an end to the state of emergency, the release of remaining political prisoners and a lifting of bans on illegal organizations. Some argue that the unconditional release of almost the entire Old Guard ANC leadership already amounts to de facto unbanning. So it does, in a way. But a most unhealthy situation will develop if President de Klerk does not move swiftly to scrap the emergency and to regularize the anomalous position of the ANC. As things stand, Mr Sisulu himself will not be prosecuted for advancing the aims of a banned organization, presumably, yet his humblest follower could be summarily arrested for waving an ANC flag."

De Klerk's 'Selective Openness' Creates Confusion—"Mr F.W. de Klerk will be digging his own political grave unless he moves swiftly to develop a more coordinated and consistent approach to freeing up the political process in South Africa," writes Anthony Johnson in his "Midweek Politics" column on page 8 of Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 18 October. "Mr de Klerk and his advisers want to play it safe in uncertain times by making selective concessions without sacrificing or relaxing the formal legal and structural trappings of control." Johnson points out that "while 'ordinary' citizens can be put behind bars for years for furthering aims of banned organisations like the ANC or the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], the eight prominent security prisoners released this week are, despite official protestations to the contrary, apparently allowed to do so with impunity. The confusion and resentment surrounding Mr de Klerk's strategy of selective openness extends well beyond civil rights organisations and activists in the townships." If De Klerk does not remove the "many contradictions laid bare by his latest loosening up of the political process, the mounting pressure may force him into precipitate actions that could destroy his entire initiative."

TRANSVALER

Mass Marches 'Irritate' White Feelings—The Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans of 17 October notes in an editorial on page 8: "The novelty of mass marches is beginning to irritate white feelings. Which is understandable, because this is another dimension of black politics in which the line between orderly protest and harmful action is very thin. As this phenomenon is common in the outside world—now even in the USSR and its

satellites—we will have to get used to it. But a more sober approach is needed because a total ban and the use of the might of the state will eventually cause more problems than pragmatic judgment. But there are conditions. A mass protest for every trifle can be harmful to employment and therefore the economy. If at any time it appears as though the aim is simply to inflame feelings and keep the conflict potential high they must be stopped."

State President's Method Opens Doors—An editorial on page 6 of *TRANSVALER* in Afrikaans of 18 October says: "Heightening white fears as much as possible was once the trademark of Afrikaner politics. Exclusivity and a kind of hereditary claim to every possible privilege dominated white political thinking. Listening to Dr Andries Treurnicht's reaction to the weekend events surrounding Walter Sisulu, it is clear that he and his party still retain all the earlier beliefs." "Dr Treurnicht now says the decision to release Sisulu boils down to a crisis for the government. Either the state 'disowns' the Afrikaner nation by surrendering their rightful land and losing political control, or it must put a stop to the demonstrations and the releases because it will land the country in chaos and conflict. It is easy to use this kind of reasoning at a time when the state president has to take the risk of scaling down the conflict potential in the country. But at least the state president's method of doing things has the potential of opening doors."

DIE BURGER

ANC Deviates from Violence—"The South African Government has started an initiative with far-reaching implications for the ANC. In fact, the ANC is probably facing its big moment of truth," notes Cape Town *DIE BURGER* in Afrikaans on 17 October in a page 14 editorial. "Against this background, the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, committed himself during the election campaign to negotiation for a new South Africa in which all black people will get a democratic say. He followed it up with an open door policy, the permission of peaceful protests and the recent release of a group of important security prisoners." "Over the years, the ANC focused world attention on South Africa, now it is under the same spotlight. The ANC should admit that it is deviating from violence rather than face the consequences."

'Panic Moments' for Far Right—Cape Town *DIE BURGER* in Afrikaans on 18 October editorializes on page 18 that: "The government's initiatives to promote

peace and negotiations clearly push the opposition parties into a corner. In particular, the Conservative Party's [CP] panic moments make it clear that the far right fears its time for petty politics is fast passing by." "The CP's problem is evident. The white national state which it stands for, is practically impossible. In addition, the far right fears it will lose further support, the more government moves closer to a negotiated settlement with black people. Consequently, the CP's panic reactions."

Troika Causes Democratic Schism—"Instead of the retention of the democratic troika bringing greater unity within the party, it is causing great discord, to such an extent that political fighting has started," asserts Cape Town *DIE BURGER* in Afrikaans on 18 October in a page 18 editorial. "The attempts to cover this rooted division to retain the troika have clearly neither deceived nor convinced anyone. The potential of a schismatic power struggle within the Democratic Party is clearly bigger than ever before."

BEELD

Government Takes Initiative—Johannesburg *BEELD* in Afrikaans on 18 October says in a page 10 editorial: "It is very profitable to be known for opposing the South African Government's race policy." "Ask Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, the largest sanctions pressure group in the U.S. They all probably strongly believe in what they are doing. But if there is a peaceful settlement in South Africa many of these people will lose their main source of income. Therefore we are not surprised that President F.W. de Klerk's latest reforms are being attacked by these political activists." "Mrs Winnie Mandela also reacted in a very off-hand manner after the release of Sisulu and company was announced. What these activist cannot stomach is that the government has taken the initiative." "The government is in full control. It will decide when and what will be done on the road to reform."

6 Month Deadline for RSA 'Silly'—Johannesburg *BEELD* in Afrikaans on 19 October comments in a page 10 editorial: "It certainly seems as though the winds of change are blowing in the Commonwealth regarding South Africa. The secretary general, Sir Shridath Ramphal, notes a movement that 'might be' happening in South Africa and the Canadian foreign minister, Joe Clark, says President F.W. de Klerk deserves a chance." "Though South Africa could welcome the new attitude, there is no reason to celebrate. A sword hanging over the head does not promote goodwill. Besides, it is silly to expect South Africa's problems, that took so long to develop, to be resolved within 6 months."

Angola**Joint Commission Talks Still in Session**

*MB1810202589 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1900 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Correspondent Dispatch]

[Text] Dear listeners, a very good evening! The results of the 3 days of intense debate at the extraordinary meeting of the tripartite commission to verify the application of the New York agreements are not yet known here in Johannesburg, inasmuch as the delegations participating in the meeting have not yet returned from Pretoria as we are sending this dispatch.

As we pointed out at 1300 today, the delegations decided to hold their final session in Pretoria. According to information we have, today's session was devoted to reviewing important measures to be taken in order to allow free and fair elections to be held in Namibia and a climate of greater security to be restored along the Angolan-Namibian border. However, concrete results are not yet known.

Reports here in Johannesburg point out that South Africa will (?dismantle) about 400 Koevoet [counterinsurgency units] elements still found in the South-West African Police as well as two battalions made up of Bushmen who are originally from Angola and who are concentrated along the Angolan-Namibian border. South Africa claims that it has not yet dismantled the two bushmen battalions for humanitarian reasons. UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 only refers to the existence in Namibia of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group forces and the Namibian police. It is in this context that the draft resolution being circulated at the UN Security Council, accusing South Africa of not fulfilling its obligations in Namibia, calls for sanctions because of the nonimplementation of the UN Security Council's decisions with regard to the territory.

Accordingly, the two Bushmen battalions must be immediately dismantled and these elements must be handed to the United Nations as refugees inasmuch as they are Angolans.

Also according to reports here, military experts from Angola, Cuba, and South Africa are expected to meet very soon to examine the security of the People's Republic of Angola, particularly along the Angolan-Namibian border [words indistinct] the last meeting of the tripartite joint commission [words indistinct] Namibia and its results are being awaited with great expectation because they will undoubtedly have great weight for the future of the territory.

However, Namibia requires a climate of peace so that the Namibian people can vote freely for the constitution of the national assembly, which will be supreme organ of state power in an independent Namibia. After elections

in Namibia, the joint tripartite commission is expected to meet again to examine [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, as I pointed out earlier, we expect the delegations to return at any time. We then expect to get further details on the successes of this extraordinary session that began in Johannesburg yesterday.

Foreign Minister Van Dunem, Botha Remarks Noted

*MB1810203189 Maputo in English to Southern Africa
1800 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Text] The Angolan foreign minister, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, said in Maputo today that the Angolan Government believes that the Gbadolite agreement of last June should still be the basis for ending the conflict in Angola. Mr van Dunem said he believed there was no need for new platform on which to negotiate peace with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The Angolan minister lamented the fact that the United States was, as he put it, playing a very negative role. Mr van Dunem gave no details. Mr van Dunem was in Maputo to hold talks with his South African counterpart, Pik Botha.

Speaking shortly before he left for South Africa, Mr Botha said that he was optimistic that the Angolan conflict could be resolved. He claimed his country was no longer supporting UNITA, but he said UNITA still receives support from the United States. The South African foreign minister said his government supports the efforts by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko in mediating the peace initiative in Angola. Mr Botha said he believes that it was first the task of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Namibia, UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group], to monitor any infiltration which may occur across the common border between Angola and Namibia. He said however that Angola, South Africa, and Cuba are agreed that they must jointly cooperate to resolve any border problem.

Talks With Pik Botha

*MB1910194789 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1900 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] The main problems concerning peace and stability in southern Africa have been discussed during a meeting held in Maputo between the Angolan and South African foreign ministers. According to Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy, the meeting was positive because it dealt with issues that gave South Africa a clearer understanding of the main regional problems.

Asked to comment on the South African foreign minister's statement that Pretoria has stopped aiding UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy said that there were no

practical indications that such aid has ended yet. He said, however, that it is impossible to conduct any verification.

[Begin Loy recording] The amount of weapons and ammunition South Africa has given UNITA so that the latter could continue the war is in fact very high. When South Africa withdrew its troops, it left behind most of its weapons and equipment. In addition, South Africa quickly sent in more weapons and equipment, thus permitting UNITA to stockpile materiel in order to carry out massacres against our people for quite some time. Therefore, to say that such aid has been cut and that no more assistance is being provided, is a relative assertion. [end recording]

Speaking to newsmen after meeting with his South African counterpart, Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy said that the South African side regarded all links from Namibia and South Africa to Jamba as illegitimate, which means that from now Angola can intercept any aircraft or vehicles.

Meanwhile, Minister Loy was in Libreville, Gabon, today to brief and exchange information with the Gabonese authorities. The minister carried a message from the Angolan head of state to President Omar Bongo. Gabon is one of the eight African countries which have been holding regular meetings aimed at contributing to a quick establishment of peace and national reconciliation in Angola.

Criticizes U.S. Condition

MB2010125589 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The Angolan foreign minister has criticized the United States for making the restoration of diplomatic ties between Angola and the United States conditional. ANGOP, the Angolan news agency, quotes Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem as saying that Angola rejected American demands that the Angolan government should implement true national reconciliation before even low level diplomatic ties could be established.

He is quoted as saying that the U.S. definition of true national reconciliation was simply the destruction of the Angolan Government and a takeover by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

Luanda Radio Cites Foreign Minister's U.S. Remarks

MB1210194089 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] In Washington yesterday [11 October], Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen discussed the situation in southern African, particularly the Angolan peace process.

After the meeting, Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy denounced the White House's ambiguous policy which, on the one hand favors the peace process in Angola, and on the other continues to support UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], which has sabotaged that process.

On the resumption of peace contacts, the Angolan minister said it was UNITA which left the negotiating table, and therefore it is UNITA which should return to the table.

The Angolan foreign affairs minister has already left the United States for home. He is scheduled to stop over in Paris.

UNITA Announces U.S. Congress Approves Aid

MB1510094889 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] On 12 October the U.S. Congress approved an aid package for our movement for the 1989-90 fiscal year.

According to our special correspondent in Washington, Njonjo Horacio, about two-third of this assistance falls under humanitarian aid for health and education.

The correspondent pointed out that only one-third of the assistance falls under military aid to acquire nonlethal materiel, while only a (small) part of this fraction will be used to acquire exclusively necessary defensive materiel to thwart the MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] offensives, as was demonstrated during last August and September.

Our correspondent also stressed that the aid approval to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] for the 1989-90 fiscal year is the clearest evidence of the success of the visit to the United States by Comrade President Dr Savimbi; who maintains that there can be no military solution in Angola.

Jonas Savimbi: Movement Enjoys U.S. Support

MB0710185589 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The leader of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola, Dr Jonas Savimbi, who has just completed 4 days of talks with American officials, says he is satisfied that his movement still has the support of the United States. Addressing the National Press Club in Washington, Dr Savimbi said that during his visit he had received almost everything he had asked for, and that he would be very well received by his followers when he returns home. Dr Savimbi held talks with President George Bush on Thursday [5 October] and later also met the secretary of state, Mr James Baker. Dr Savimbi accused the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government in Luanda of using the Soviet-made chemical weapons against his movement and said that he had

received confirmation from an expert that soil samples from Angola were showing traces of chemical substances.

UNITA Reports Disobedience in FAPLA Ranks

MB1610081789 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0514 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party soldiers stationed in Cabinda Province refuse to carry out offensives against our armed forces. Maguela, our correspondent in Cabinda Province, reports:

Political greetings in honor of UNITA's [National Union for the Independence of Angola] historic second extraordinary congress are now widespread in Cabinda Province's main villages and towns. The people and the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] have expressed their full solidarity for the holding of the UNITA second congress. They also expressed their unconditional and unwavering support for Comrade President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, general of the army and FALA supreme commander.

Meanwhile, the UNITA second congress' peace proposal has been joyfully welcomed by the people and the FALA forces, but it has not left the Luanda repressive regime indifferent. Obviously, its military structures were most exposed to the immediate consequences of that peace proposal, which undoubtedly provides a political basis for frank and open dialogue leading to real peace and national reconciliation.

Lack of understanding and disorientation in, as well as massive desertion from, the MPLA-Labor Party's military structures are the main [words indistinct] that will unavoidably cause the Luanda repressive regime to disintegrate.

FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers up to the rank of lieutenant categorically refuse to take part in any military operations ordered by their superiors, including simple reconnaissance patrols. The FAPLA soldiers usually call their superiors mad because they play deaf but it will not be too long before they have to listen to (?President) Savimbi's peace call.

In (Ponte Grande) on 10 October, a FAPLA unit rejected orders from their battalion commander, who had told them to attack our forces at a rally 1 km away from the FAPLA soldiers' position. However, the soldiers in that FAPLA unit unanimously and unwaveringly responded that the current stage is not one for going around firing shots for the benefit of those who stay in the barracks while others have to fight for them.

The commander of the battalion became very angry and threatened to punish the whole unit. Even so, the unit barely paid him any attention and went no further than

firing some 6 shells in the direction of the site of the UNITA rally some 12 hours later. However [words indistinct] whatever.

Peace through amnesty, integration or exile is not the peace we want. Let us unite behind UNITA, which is wisely led by Comrade President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, general of the army and Angola's most loved son.

Long live peace!

Long live national reconciliation!

Long live UNITA!

Long live Comrade President Dr Jonas Savimbi!

UNITA Said To Raid Quilenda District 12 Oct

MB1910200389 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] An authorized military source has disclosed that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels raided Quilenda District, north of Gabela, in Cuanza Province, on 12 October, destroying a number of infrastructures, namely the power station and warehouses belonging to [name indistinct] regrettably, three civilians were killed and six others were abducted.

Angolan troops killed three UNITA elements, and captured one PPSH weapon and ammunition.

The enemy attempted to enter Gabela City in order to destroy an electrical substation. Two [words indistinct] were burned, and large quantities of goats and pigs [words indistinct].

Kills 8 Soldiers in Moxico

MB2010062389 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] In a counterattack in the area of Canangala, Moxico Province, our forces killed eight FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers.

Our correspondent in Moxico Province reports that the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces counterattacked after a group of FAPLA soldiers had penetrated an area under our control. In this operation, our forces captured light weapons, one transmission radio, and an assortment of military equipment.

Our source also reports that the UNITA forces repelled another group of FAPLA soldiers during an attack while crossing the Zambezi River. Our forces captured Domingos Joaquim, FAPLA communications specialist, 22 years old, and born in Malange.

Domingos Joaquim told our sources that, because of famine in the area, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party troops stationed

in Lumbala-Caquengue survive by stealing the people's possessions. This situation has caused many people as well as MPLA-Labor Party soldiers to flee into neighboring Zambia.

MPLA Aircraft Bomb Bie Civilians

MB2010062789 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0515 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] MiG-23 aircraft have indiscriminately bombed defenseless civilians in Bie Province. [passage omitted]

The MPLA-Labor Party air force is continuing its sinister bombings of peaceful villages within the context of its recent so-called 11 November offensive.

On 18 October, three MiG-23 aircraft flew in from Luena and dropped bombs over Cavango, Licundo, and (Cuvambe) villages on Luquela River's right bank. Seven innocent civilians were killed and a number of others wounded because of this hideous operation. [passage omitted]

VOIX D'AFRIQUE Interviews Savimbi

AB1110170089 Abidjan VOIX D'AFRIQUE in French No 2, October 89 pp 54, 55

[Babacar Diack Article: "Savimbi Tells Our Correspondent: Africa Should Understand Me]

[Text] At 55, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] as he himself says, is neither a young man nor an old man. He has spent almost half of his life making war. First, he fought the Portuguese, and for the past 14 years, he has been fighting against the Luanda regime, which was supported by the Cubans. This civil war, according to UNITA, has claimed 200,000 Angolan and 20,000 Cuban lives, and displaced 1.5 million people. Savimbi wants to end this war...on the condition that the "invader" leaves Angola. He is a man who likes to convince, and likes to speak about what is referred to as the "forgotten war." His speech, which was once considered provocative, now appears to be more political. He is far from the time when he said he was ready to ally himself with the devil. Was it a challenge? Perhaps.

And yet, Jonas Savimbi has paid heavily for the war. His first wife died in the bush, killed by lightning. Two of his children also died in the bush... "by Cuban bullets." And his father, a former railway worker, died under house arrest after spending 2 years in Portuguese prisons.

This doctor in political science, who became a soldier by need rather than by vocation, can appear to be ambiguous where external relations are concerned. Trained at the Nanjing Military Academy, he is reputed to be

anticommunist and pro-Western. But he describes himself as pro-Angolan. "I was trained in the People's Republic of China, not by ideological necessity, but because African states, especially Algeria, Egypt, and Tanzania, had refused to train me," Savimbi explains.

With a country like South Africa which has so much been discredited, he has maintained very close ties. Having ties with the racist regime in Pretoria—which he said he does not support—has singled him out as a very controversial man on the continent. Savimbi does not deny it at all. He said his ties with Pretoria were dictated by the fact that he needed to survive.

"We were being thrashed by the Russians and the Cubans. From the core of 2,000 men that we were in 1976 when we left Huambo, we were left with only 65 men when we arrived in the bush. From May through October, we were chased. So, in order to survive, I had to seek the assistance of the South Africans." Beginning with the right of passage through Namibia, this assistance developed rapidly into the supply of armaments. "They (the South Africans) gave me 36 donkeys which could only bring less than one half of a tonne of materials inside the country: ammunition, food, soap...hope."

It will take Africa a long time to forget these ties with a regime which plans to dehumanize the black man, and which, according to Savimbi, have now stopped. This is what the UNITA leader, who is very much aware of this, has to say about the issue: "Africans have condemned me, and I understand them. Nobody condemned communism. It had the right to massacre. I admit my fault for not having a progressive neighbor, and I did not do so to defy Africans. I am a Pan-Africanist. I grew up in Nkrumah schools, but my way of thinking has matured in the manner of men like Felix Houphouet-Boigny and Leopold Sedar Senghor."

A surprising self-criticism which does not make him forget the realities when he notes: "If the South Africans left Angola finally as of September of this year, the Cubans have remained on the spot with 60,000 men to support the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]." The reality could also mean the support of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] for the MPLA when they come to power in Namibia, which shares borders with that part of Angola "liberated" by UNITA.

Savimbi rejects this assumption, because, according to him, "first of all, a majority of the Namibian people, which belong to the same ethnic group as those that live in the UNITA area, will not accept this." Secondly, he says his 75,000-man strong army is capable of containing enemy forces. Already it controls all the areas along the border with Namibia. Relations between the two movements were excellent some time ago, because SWAPO elements were trained by UNITA, whose territory had served for a long time as a rear base for attacks in Namibia. Then, without Savimbi giving any reasons, relations deteriorated considerably to the extent that

SWAPO elements, "allies to the MPLA, made attacks on UNITA positions." Relations were also very difficult with the other neighbor: Zambia. Savimbi recalls that relations used to be very good, to the extent that "we refused to let our territory be used as a base for opposition to Kenneth Kaunda. They speak ill of me over there, but I do not think Kaunda would allow any attacks against us from his territory. We are assured on that point."

Squeezed by two allies of the MPLA, Savimbi wants to remain optimistic and vigilant. The need for peace, which has become more perceptible in southern Africa, should limit, if not prevent these risks of conflict. The agreement concluded last June in Gbadolite, and which further legitimizes UNITA, represents a great step in this direction.

"I see the future in the spirit of the Gbadolite accord, which has brought about only three achievements, namely, a cease-fire, national reconciliation, and the establishment of a commission to implement the first two above-named principles. We will ensure that these achievements become a reality."

Meanwhile, the reality is being expressed through arms as one side is accusing the other of violating the cease-fire.

"The cease-fire was simply announced in Gbadolite, but no one has set up a mechanism to define and to check it," Savimbi noted.

He and his senior officers, some trained in Nanjing and others in Morocco, wholeheartedly want peace and wish "a really democratic regime" for Angola. The advent of this democratic regime, in their view, can only be achieved through free elections that would be organized by a transitional coalition government. It simply means going back to the 1975 Alvor Accords.

"I will not be part of that government. But I will be a candidate of my party to these elections, which would be the first to be held since Angola's independence." In any case, the UNITA leader has rejected the proposal to go into exile. In his view, these elections should lead to the establishment of a constituent assembly, which will be charged with drafting a constitution for the country, a constitution that will neither be that of UNITA nor of the MPLA, but which "will include a clause guaranteeing the unarmed opposition the right to freedom of expression."

But Angola also comprises the Cabinda enclave, whose enormous mineral resources have made it a much coveted territory. This enclave's liberation fronts are set up and dissolved at the will of events and manipulations. Savimbi demonstrates realism when he discusses the future of this enclave because one of its citizens, General Miguel Puna, is UNITA's second in command. The UNITA leader believes that only the Cabindans can determine the future of their territory once peace has been restored in Angola.

They must do it on the basis of three options, which he defined as follows:

- They can remain within Angola and have an administrative autonomy that will cover areas like education, public works, customs, and security. Foreign affairs, finance, and defense will be handled by the Angolan central government.
- They can be joined to Congo "and lose the gains of colonialism, language, and education in particular."
- Or they can be "absorbed by Zaire and become only a small territory."

Yesterday he was just a rebel, and today he is being received by the great leaders of the world with all the honors due to a head of state. He said he was inspired by the philosophy of President Houphouët-Boigny. He will be remembered in Angola's history as the only party leader who fought a war against the Portuguese by establishing his bases inside the country. He is not only preoccupied by the war, for which he personally defines the movement's strategy. He also talks with passion and realism about black culture:

"We are blacks. We live and think as blacks, and we would like the world to see us as such. But we must open ourselves to others." Speaking in the same vein as Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, Savimbi noted: "We are members of the OAU together with the Arabs who have their own league. As blacks, we have the right to discuss problems and organize ourselves consequently" but he warned, "without splitting the OAU." "He who once wrote that 'breasts without milk are feeding black children' in his country, noted that 'suffering and sorrow (are) our second nature.' He still hopes that Angola 'will smile again one day...the day the Cubans leave our fatherland.'"

Botswana

President Masire Announces Cabinet Changes

MB1310133389 Gaborone Domestic Service
in English 1110 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The president, Dr Quett Masire, has announced his new Cabinet with substantial changes from the previous one. Three Cabinet ministers have been dropped and two public servants have been given Cabinet posts. Two surprise appointments are those of the Ministry of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, which has been taken by Army chief, Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe; and that finance and development planning, which has been taken by the head of the civil service and permanent secretary to the president, Mr Festus Mogae.

Another new face in the post-election cabinet is Mr Ray Mulomo, a former university lecturer and businessman who takes over the Ministry of Education. The former minister for this post, Mr Kebatlamang Morake, is now minister of health.

Long term cabinet minister Mr Moutlakgola Nwako has been dropped from the cabinet, and his post as minister of commerce and industry is taken by Ponatshego Kedikilwe, who is being replaced by Gen Merafhe.

Returning to the cabinet is Mr David Magang, who resigned a few years ago. He takes back his former post of assistant minister of finance and development planning.

Continuing the reshuffle, the president has moved Mr Patrick Balope to the Ministry of Labor and Home Affairs, replacing Mr Englishman Kgabo, who has retired from politics.

The Ministry of Local Government and Land, which was held by Mr Balope, is now held by the vice president, Mr Mmusi.

Dropped from the Cabinet, in addition to Mr Nwako, are Mr Lesedi Mothibamele, former minister of health; and Mr Obed Chilume, former assistant minister of finance and development planning.

Remaining in their cabinet posts are: the minister of agriculture and ruling party strongman, Mr Daniel Kwelagobe, who remains in the Ministry of Agriculture;

Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, minister for external affairs;

Mr Archibald Mogwe, minister of mineral resources and water affairs;

Mr Chapson Butale, minister of works, transport and communications;

Mr Geoffrey Oteng, assistant minister of agriculture.

Also remaining in their posts are Mr Michael Tshipinare, assistant minister of local government and lands, and his counterpart in the same ministry, Mr Ronald Sebeho.

To facilitate their appointment to Cabinet posts, Gen Merafhe and Mr Mogae have been specially elected into Parliament. Also specially elected are Mr Gaohlatsi Mahlaba Phiri and Mr (Festus Moruti). The appointments are with immediate effect.

Before the announcement of the new Cabinet, Dr Masire briefly addressed a crowd of BDP [Botswana Democratic Party] supporters in front of the National Assembly. The president praised the nation for having returned his party to power. He particularly thanked KwaNgwaketse for having helped the BDP win the Nkange and Ngwaketse South constituencies.

And now, a statement just issued by the Office of the President says that the president, Dr Quett Masire, will recommend the election of Mr Moutlakgola Nwako as the Speaker of the National Assembly for the sixth parliament, which begins on 6 November. The release states that this follows notice to retire as the Speaker of the National Assembly by Mr Jimmy Haskins.

It has also been stated that Mr Elijah Lekgwaila has been appointed permanent secretary to the president and

secretary to the Cabinet, in which capacity he will serve as head of the civil service. Mr Lekgwaila replaces Mr Festus Mogae, who has been appointed minister of finance and development planning.

The release also states that Major General Seretse Khama Ian Khama has been appointed commander of the Botswana Defense Force, replacing Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe, who is now minister for presidential affairs and public administration.

These appointments as well are with immediate effect.

Appoints New Army Deputy Commander

MB1610131689 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1111 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] The president, Dr Quett Masire, has appointed Brigadier (Pila Motaung) as deputy commander of the Botswana Defense Force. Brig (Motaung) succeeds Major General Seretse Khama Ian Khama, who has been appointed commander of the Army.

Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe, who had been commander of the force, has been appointed minister for presidential affairs and public administration.

The appointment follows announcements of a cabinet last Friday [13 October] which included top civil servants, among them the former permanent secretary to the president, Mr Festus Mogae. Mr Mogae was appointed minister of finance and development planning.

Masire Departs for Commonwealth Summit 15 Oct

MB1510124489 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1123 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] The president, Dr Quett Masire, and the first lady, Mrs Gladys Masire, left Gaborone today for Singapore on a 2-day state visit. From Singapore, Dr Masire will proceed to Kuala Lumpur for the Commonwealth heads of state meeting.

Dr Masire will be accompanied on the trip by the minister for external affairs, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, and other senior government officials. He is expected back in Gaborone on 28 October.

Mozambique

RSA, Angolan Foreign Ministers Meet in Maputo

MB1810122289 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Roelof Botha, his South African counterpart, are holding a meeting in Maputo. We have no other details about the meeting.

This the second time the Angolan and South African foreign ministers meet in the Mozambican capital. The first was held in September. This meeting comes in the wake of yet another session of the tripartite commission for verifying the New York Accords on southwestern Africa. This session was held in Johannesburg 3 weeks before Namibia's independence elections.

President Chissano Addresses Rally in Buzi 18 Oct

MB1810183989 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Correspondent Alberto Mavame Dispatch]

[Excerpt] At a mass rally in Buzi district today, the people encouraged President Joaquim Chissano to continue efforts aimed at restoring peace in Mozambique. As was the case during his tour of districts in Zambezia Province, the central theme of President Chissano's speeches in the central region of our country has been the war in Mozambique.

President Joaquim Chissano explained the origin of the armed bandits to the residents of Buzi district. He also asked to know the people's views on the armed bandit ringleader's refusal to recognize the existing government and laws in the country.

The Buzi residents at the rally rejected the possibility of sharing any kind of power with the so-called Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and the establishment of a multiparty system in Mozambique. The Buzi residents told the president that the armed bandits have no scruples because they murder children, old people, and women, and destroy economic and social infrastructures. Hence, they said they could not accept this kind of people.

President Joaquim Chissano once again informed the people of the presence of a Mozambican delegation in Nairobi for contacts with the armed bandit ringleaders. He said that this delegation will try, with delegations from Kenya and Zimbabwe, to find ways of restoring peace in Mozambique. [passage omitted]

Chissano Meets Sofala Party Committee 19 Oct

MB1910190489 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Report from Beira correspondent]

[Excerpt] Joaquim Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, this afternoon met with members of the Sofala provincial committee during a special session held in Beira within the framework of his working visit to the province.

Francisco Masquil, first secretary of the Sofala party provincial committee, presented a report on activities that have been carried out in the province since President Joaquim Chissano's last visit to Sofala Province in 1987. The report mentions an improvement in the

political and military situation in Sofala Province as a result of the important victories achieved by the Mozambique Armed Forces in their fight against armed bandits. In fact, several districts which had been occupied by the bandits have been freed—namely Chemba, Maringue, Cheringoma, and Muanza. A number of areas and district posts have also been freed.

The report also mentions the work carried by the party, notably the creation of three district committees in Caia, Marromeu, and Muanza. A total of 20 party committees were established in administrative posts and in Dondo City. The number of party members has grown by 1,833. However, bandit activities have paralyzed three district committees in Chemba, Maringue, and Cheringoma. These committees are currently operating from Marromeu, Casa Banana, and Dondo.

Bandit activities have also affected more than 400,000 people, resulting in the creation of 29 centers for displaced people which shelter over 100,000 people.

Turning to social organizations, the report mentions the reorganization of several organs and the creation of grassroots structures within several enterprises. Despite the apparently positive situation, the report describes the financial situation of grass-roots organizations—namely the Organization of Mozambique Women, the Mozambique Youth Organization, and the Organization of the Followers of the Mozambican Revolution—as unstable. The report says that measures have been taken to overcome the situation. [passage omitted]

Chissano Addresses Beira Residents 20 Oct

MB2010115889 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano said in Beira today that victory is closer and more certain, adding that the armed bandits no longer occupy any district of Sofala Province.

President Joaquim Chissano was responding to the Beira residents' request to comment on the Mozambican peace process, the decisions of the fifth congress, and the economic rehabilitation program [PRE].

The Mozambican head of state also noted that all districts in Zambezia Province previously occupied by the armed bandits have been recaptured, adding that bandit bases that had once been considered impenetrable had also been destroyed.

As for the PRE, the Mozambican head of state said an assessment will be carried out after 3 years. President

Joaquim Chissano said that the Beira corridor contributes to economic growth and that it will soon absorb unemployed manpower in its railroad and harbor systems.

President Joaquim Chissano is currently still holding a meeting with the residents of Beira City.

Foreign Minister Departs 13 Oct for U.S. Visit

MB1410080789 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0400 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi left for Chicago yesterday to address a group of about 100 friends of Mozambique.

Last Thursday [12 October] our country's foreign minister met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The two officials examined bilateral relations and the prevailing situation in Mozambique and throughout southern Africa.

During the meeting, the U.S. secretary of state expressed the United States' desire and readiness to support Mozambican efforts to restore peace in Mozambique.

Renamo Member on Local Activities, Plans

AU0410143789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 4 Oct 89 p 18

[Article by Bernd Girrback, including interview with Arturo da Fonseca, "member of the Renamo National Council and secretary of external relations"; date and place of interview not given: "Terrorist Activities in Mozambique Planned in the FRG"]

[Excerpts] An approximately 40-year-old black African from Mozambique is living in Eppenheim near Heidelberg in an inconspicuous residential area. He is very friendly, the neighbors say. They think that he is a guest lecturer at the Law Department of Heidelberg University. However, the friendly African who always wears a suit and sunglasses is doing bloody business in his modest two-room apartment.

Fonseca: My name is Arturo de Fonseca. I am a jurist and a member of the National Council of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] and secretary of the organization's external relations.

Girrback: Could one describe your position as that of Renamo's foreign minister, so to speak?

Fonseca: Yes, President Dhlakama is president of Renamo and chief of the Armed Forces. Abroad, I am responsible for Renamo's policy, and nobody else. I am the chief. [passage omitted]

Fonseca: I am in close contact with the president, that is, with the president's office in Gorongosa.

Girrback: Mr Fonseca, what are you fighting for?

Fonseca: We are a democratic organization, and our goal is completely clear: It is democracy. We do not conceal anything. It is no secret that we are an anticommunist organization, and we will continue to be one in the future.

Girrback: You attack truck convoys, you blow up bridges, you blow up railroad tracks, and you blow up utility poles.

Fonseca: Railroad tracks and bridges, yes. Yes, we do blow them up.

Girrback: But you carry out attacks. There is no doubt about that. You attack convoys, truck convoys, buses full of civilians who get killed. This is true!

Fonseca: Nobody is civilian in Mozambique, everything is a matter of the military.

Girrback: But there are also civilians who travel from one town to another.

Fonseca: Nowadays, one should travel by train, not by bus.

Girrback: But you attack trains as well, if there are still trains.

Fonseca: What we want is to paralyze the economy of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo].

Girrback: To achieve this, you accept the death of civilians? (Fonseca in the background: No.)

Fonseca: Let me tell you one thing. There is a war in Mozambique. People must understand that. They should not simply go to Beira. We have appealed to the population: Take care, take care! We will not show consideration. If they accept what Frelimo is doing, they must also accept what we are doing. That is that. [passage omitted]

The FRG Government considers Renamo to be a mere gang of murderers: According to the findings of the government, Renamo's activities are primarily directed toward the civilian population, whom they treat with particular brutality. There is conclusive evidence that Renamo, because of its scorched earth policy, is to a great extent responsible for the current supply crisis in large parts of the country.

Despite this clear position, it has been possible for the Renamo leadership to plan its terrorist activities undisturbed on FRG territory for the past 8 years, to gather political information, to raise money, to establish international contacts, and to procure weapons, according to information that has been received. Since 1981 the Renamo leadership has been holding its summit meetings, mainly in the FRG.

The first meeting, a secret conference on the organization's program, took place in Cologne in July 1981, and the last meeting was held at the Rega Hotel in Heidelberg on 27 August last year, and another one took place in Cologne a few weeks ago. In October 1982 and March 1983 the Renamo National Council, the highest forum of the cruel rebels, convened in Cologne. In February 1984 a meeting was held at the St Julian conference center of the Missionary Order of the Eucharists [Eucharistiner] in Dueren. Shortly before that, in November 1983, the Renamo leadership held a meeting at the "Organization for studies and the promotion of Schleswig-Holstein's economy." Schleswig-Holstein seems to be popular meeting place among Renamo members.

The meetings are organized by Professor Werner Kaltefleiter, a political scientist at Kiel University, who establishes contacts with prospective supporters. In 1983 Kaltefleiter arranged a trip to the FRG by the Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and introduced him to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Franz Josef Strauss and the Hans Seidel Foundation, which is sympathetic to the Christian Social Union [CSU]. It is known that the CSU and its late chairman Franz Josef Strauss supported Renamo, at least during the initial years. As of 1984/85 officials in Munich became more cautious, and on the occasion of Strauss' trip to Mozambique in 1988, the spokesman of the CSU Office for External Relations, Dieter A. Schmidt, made the following statement: "We have no contacts with this organization."

We possess a copy of a letter from the CSU headquarters, dated 26 June 1987, which was addressed to the Renamo representative in Nairobi with whom Strauss wanted to establish contacts. In this letter, Dieter A. Schmidt stated on the orders of Franz Josef Strauss: "...that we maintain direct contacts with the president and the commander in chief of your organization in the 'Casa Banana'."

"Casa Banana" is the name of the Renamo headquarters in the Gorongosa Mountains in Mozambique. However, let us go back to Kiel.

Kaltefleiter's many and varied activities include his annual so-called "Summer Seminar on National Security," an international event that is usually attended by high-ranking officials and which is also open to Renamo. At least for the year 1986, proof can be furnished that Renamo "Foreign Minister" Fonseca received an official letter of invitation from Kiel University, which made it possible for him to discuss various issues with senior officials, including former NATO Commander in Chief Bernhard W. Rogers or the former state secretaries in the Defense Ministry, Peter Kurt Wuerzbach and Lothar Ruehl. Kaltefleiter received public subsidies for his seminars, in which Renamo participated. In 1985, for

example, he received DM15,000 from NATO and DM90,000 from the Kiel provincial government. The professor who is so amicably disposed toward South Africa has no scruples, but good contacts. Thus, Eberhard Blum, then head of the Federal Intelligence Service [BND] gave a lecture on the topic "secret services." Hans Georg Wieck, who heads the BND now, was also among the speakers. Rumor has it—particularly in southern Africa—that there are links between the BND and Renamo. The rumors do not suggest activities by the BND on Mozambican territory.

According to the rumors, members of the BND branch in Pretoria provide support to Renamo, together with the South African secret service, within the framework of a some sort of private initiative. These rumors have recently been confirmed by Paolo Oliveira. Paolo Oliveira used to be an important Renamo leader. When he joined the Mozambican Government about 1 year ago, he stated the following in Maputo:

"About \$1 million was involved in a deal I know about. The money was provided by the BND to purchase facilities for the defense of the airspace. SAM-7 missiles were involved, which were bought on the black market and should have arrived from Poland. These missiles were never received by Renamo. However, Arturo Jareira da Fonseca told me on 18 August 1987—he was quite drunk at the time—that he had gone to Switzerland to withdraw \$90,000 from an account that belonged to the movement."

The BND does not answer journalists' questions, and we cannot verify Oliveira's statement. However, a small incident that occurred in Bonn some time ago assumes weight in light of this statement. In 1983 Undersecretary Wiesner from the African Section of the U.S. State Department paid a visit to the head of the Chancellor's Office at that time, Schreckenberger, complaining that the BND was involved in activities of the South African secret service to support Renamo.

Fonseca: This is not true. I have no links whatsoever here with the German intelligence service. Tell me, how can Paolo Oliveira know that? I should know, because I am responsible for the supply of weapons.

Girrbach: The fact that you are here in the FRG suggests that the FRG is also an important place for Renamo activities.

Fonseca: Yes, we are here. We are living in this country. We are working here. I do not have a specific task in the FRG. The FRG is a democratic country; everybody is free. As long as one does not violate the laws, nothing can happen to him.

This is true. Activities by foreigners are not basically banned in the FRG. However, the preparation of acts of violence on German soil is in contradiction with German and international law. Arturo Jareira da Fonseca admits that he is responsible for procuring weapons

and for financing and planning the guerrilla war. Fonseca worked here for 8 years without being disturbed. "Nothing was known" in Bonn about Renamo's activities.

On 5 May this year, in reply to an inquiry by Bundestag Deputy Hermann Otto from the Free Democratic Party of Germany, the Interior Ministry stated that the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution have no indications that Renamo members are preparing terrorist activities in this country. However, as a matter of fact, the public prosecutor in Heidelberg has instituted investigations concerning the statements Fonseca made in the interview. Our investigations alerted the Foreign Office, but also the city administration in Eppelheim, as a result of which the judicial organs were informed.

Police found Fonseca's apartment empty. Fonseca went into hiding and is now being sought by the police. Investigations are being carried out because of the preparation of terrorist activities. For this reason, the Heidelberg public prosecutor has passed on the case to the public prosecutor of Karlsruhe, who is responsible. A spokesman for the public prosecutor's office has confirmed this, stating that investigations are being carried out into whether and on what legal basis a trial can be opened. [passage omitted]

* Country's Economic Fortune Reviewed

34420136a Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
8 Sep 89 pp 15-16

[Article by Carrelo da Rocha: "Mozambique—The Wounded Giant"]

[Text] Mozambique has an area of 799,380 square km, a coastline 2,795 km long on a sea full of fish and crustaceans, an extensive and rich continental shelf (oil, manganese, gold), and a hydrographic network with two and a half dozen rivers and half a hundred sites known to be capable of providing abundant water energy. It is also rich in other sources of energy, such as natural gas (vast reserves already assessed, in only two fields) and coal; and is possessed of a subsoil extremely rich in mineral resources ranging from iron to gold, from copper to semi-precious stones, from diamonds to radioactive metal ores. And it is as yet practically unexplored. With all these assets, Mozambique is indeed a giant—a wounded giant, waiting half conscious for the moment of awakening to the great recovery which is possible.

That this recovery will come one day is obvious, among other things because the world's need for raw materials will demand it. The interested parties are many and strong. Whether the giant, when in possession of all his forces, will work for himself or for others remains a question, although history does not provide very edifying examples in similar cases. Brazil is rich, very rich, but it is the most heavily indebted country in the world, and the overwhelming majority of its population lives in a state of absolute or "invisible" poverty.

Some Significant Indicators

Mozambique has a population of close to 14.5 million persons (1987), of which 13 percent is urban. The leading cities are Maputo, the capital, with a population of 1.7 million (1987); Beira, with 350,000 (1980); and Quelimane, with 184,000 (1980).

At 1980 prices, the gross domestic product of Mozambique dropped from 84.1 billion meticals (286.4 meticals equal 1 dollar) to 53.9 billion in 1985, with a recovery of 4.3 percent to 56.2 billion meticals in 1986, the last year for which figures are available.

Thus per capita income declined from 6,800 meticals in 1981 to 3,900 in 1985, with an increase to 4,000 in 1986.

The breakdown of the gross domestic product was as follows in percentage terms, in 1981 and 1986 respectively: agriculture, 37.0 and 44.5; industry, 40.0 and 26.3; construction, 5.6 and 11.0; transportation and communications, 10.7 and 8.2; and trade and other, 6.9 and 10.0.

Thus a recovery can be seen in some sectors, along with the continued decline in those most affected by the war—industry and transportation and communications. Farm activity, however, saw a recovery for some products in 1986, following a sharp decline for all of them.

Fishing—A Growth Sector

One sector in which growth has been significant, and the only one in which production has even exceeded the level reached at the time independence was won, is fishing. In fact, the total catch in 1986 was more than double that reported for 1975.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the income from this important sector has come back to Mozambique as the owner of this wealth, which it is, in the proper proportion, or whether the country has only been getting the crumbs from a banquet served by and for others. In fact, the bulk of the catch in its very vast area of exclusive exploitation rights has come to be the product of the joint venture system, or of simple licensing of enterprises in Japan, the USSR, Portugal, and Spain. In 1984, these countries were joined by the Republic of South Africa, and in 1986, by the United States of America.

The larger catches reported since independence was won, which have more than doubled the totals obtained in that era, have to do above all with fish and species other than shrimp, although the figures show that even for this major Mozambican export product, the harvest total in 1986 was much higher than that in 1975, although lower than that in 1980-1982. The shrimp catches declined during the period between 1975 and 1979, and then began to increase, reaching 8,700 tons in 1981. Then a new decline began, but it never reached the 1975 level, and recovery began to be seen again between 1984 and 1986.

The tables which follow give some idea of the development of fishing in Mozambique. The World Bank and

the National Planning Commission of Mozambique provided these figures. It is clear that the official figures fall far short of the truth. The fishing totals for vessels owned by foreign companies (in this instance, from no fewer than six countries) in the vast sea owned by a country which lacks even a minimal capacity for control and

supervision, will not include the more than probably inaccurate declarations, the catches of possible unlicensed vessels, or those not included in the agreements, and the known instances of transshipments on the high seas (above all where shrimp and spiny lobster are concerned).

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	(in millions of meticals)*					
Exports	9.926	8.655	5.287	4.061	3.309	3.198
Imports**	28.318	31.574	25.571	22.903	18.298	21.937
Balance	-18.392	-22.918	-20.285	-18.843	-14.989	-18.739

*One dollar equals 284.4 meticals

**Including the value of foreign aid in goods

	1975	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	(in thousands of tons)					
Shrimp	5.4	6.2	5.7	5.8	6.1	5.9
Fish*	6.8	98.6	12.8	11.7	14.7	17.8

*Including fish caught by traditional methods, as well.

Foreign Trade

It is in foreign trade, where there has been a constant decline in exports and difficulty in controlling imports, that the critical situation of a country which was once a heavy exporter of cashews, copra, sisal, sugar, tea, and cotton can best be seen.

In 1987, Mozambique inaugurated an Economic Recovery Program, with the aid of the IMF and other international organizations. In that same year,

although the trade balance deficit had increased again to \$556 million, an increase of 7.5 percent was seen in exports, which reached a total of \$85.9 million. That same year, imports came to \$642 million (up 28.4 percent).

The estimates for 1988 (we still do not have the figures to confirm them) called for an increase of 22 percent in exports, which would have come to a total of \$102 million, and 17 percent in imports, yielding a total of \$753 million.

	1981	1985	1986
	(in thousands of tons)		
Export Products			
Cashews	90.1	30.4(a)	40.1
Cotton fiber	73.7	5.7	10.8
Copra	54.4	24.0	28.6
Tea	99.2(b)	25.0	6.4
Sisal	233.8	78.8	22.4
Products for Domestic Use			
Rice	28.9(c)	17.9	19.0
Corn	78.3(d)	58.6	21.5
Beans	14.9	3.6	2.8
Horticultural products	6.8	33.9(e)	23.9

Source: National Planning Commission, Mozambique

(a) The lowest value occurred in 1983—18.1.

(b) The highest value occurred in 1982—109.7.

(c) The highest value occurred in 1982—41.5.

(d) The highest value occurred in 1982—86.1.

(e) The highest value reported during the period; the lowest occurred in 1982—5.6.

Foreign Debt Tragedy

It is a tragic fact that the estimated total for 1988 exports would not even cover the interest total on the foreign debt, calculated by the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] at \$1.379 billion at the end of 1986, of which \$606 million was owed to countries belonging to that organization, and \$179 million to the CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries.

The main sources of foreign exchange for Mozambique continue to be the transfers made by its miners who have gone to work in South Africa (\$15.8 million in 1985 and \$27 million in 1986 for the net balance in the pertinent balance-of-payments category). However, the government in Pretoria has been reducing this sum through the repatriation of many of these workers. Another source is the income earned by the ports of Maputo and Beira for services rendered to neighboring countries (\$8.6 million for the net balance in 1985, and \$19 million in 1986). In 1987, these ports were operating at only 30 percent of the 1975 capacity, and the trend was toward still further decline.

This is a country with gigantic potential in its soil, its subsoil, and its maritime territory, and it enjoys a privileged geostrategic situation within the framework of the southern African economy. Will this giant, arising one day, cease to continue to work to pay the debt and the commitments which usury and the "higher interests" on the international scene will never cease to demand?

It is clear that there is no shortage now of individuals who say, like Alain Mina, that in the near future, no one will be paying anyone anything on these old debts, and that the countries which are great in potential will also be great within the concert of nations. This would be the fate of a country like Brazil, as well as that of one like Mozambique.

* Trade Figures With Portugal Compiled

34420136b Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
8 Sep 89 p 14

[Text] In the past 10 years, the trade between Portugal and Mozambique has been characterized by major increases in Portuguese exports between 1979 (1.129 million contos) and 1983 (7.013 million) and by a decline which began in that year and was not halted until 1987, when a substantial increase of 1.4 million contos was again seen. In 1988, sales to Mozambique again experienced a minor decline, which seems likely to be corrected this year.

There were no major variations in the low level of imports, with the exception of the year 1986, when they reached the lowest level ever, only 389,000 contos. However, imports recovered immediately, reaching the usual level the following year.

The following table shows this development and that of the respective balances, favorable to Portugal in all cases except in 1979, and reaching their maximum in 1983, with about 5.3 million contos.

Year	Exports	Imports	Balance
	(in contos)		
1978	1,527,000	893,300	633,700
1979	1,128,784	2,029,206	-900,422
1980	1,860,227	1,100,691	759,536
1981	2,066,244	1,132,402	933,842
1982	5,373,607	1,177,321	4,196,286
1983	7,012,771	1,725,500	5,287,271
1984	5,909,214	1,462,080	4,447,134
1985	3,742,958	1,029,175	2,713,783
1986	3,072,878	388,908	2,683,970
1987	4,486,252	1,360,910	3,125,343
1988	4,225,644	1,028,826	3,196,818
1989*	2,005,223	783,397	1,221,826

*January to May

Source: ICEP [Portuguese Foreign Trade Institute]

Portuguese Exports

Cotton cloth, which had been the most important category of Portuguese exports to Mozambique in 1986 and 1987, with totals of 301,000 and 423,000 contos, respectively, declined to a total of only 116,286 contos in 1988.

thus surrendering first place to another important category among the widely diversified exports of Portugal. This was thread made of synthetic fibers, for which the total last year was 203,000 contos, while the figure for the first 5 months of this year has already reached 64,000 contos. The category in third place in 1988 was wines, with a total of 194,000 contos, i.e., more than a thousand more than the preceding year.

Outstanding among the leading exports in 1988 were the following categories: building structures and their respective iron or steel components, 272,000 contos (226,000 in 1987); footwear parts, 144,000 contos; medicines, 129,000 contos (145,000 in 1987, and 213,000 in 1986); electric telephone and telegraph apparatus, 114,000 contos; air-conditioning machinery and apparatus, 98,000 contos (179,000 in 1987); conveyor or transmission belts, 96,000 contos; electrical transformers, 81,000 contos; and nylon fabric for tires, 71,000 contos.

In the first 5 months of 1989, it was precisely fabric for tires, with a total of 212,000 contos, which dominated the diversified exports of Portugal to Mozambique. This category was followed by insecticides and related products, 137,000 contos; air-conditioning machinery and apparatus, 125,000 contos (only 98,000 contos in all 12 months of 1988); wines, 89,000 contos; carbon, 84,000 contos; iron and steel structures and parts thereof, 83,000 contos; thread made of synthetic fibers, 64,000 contos; and medicines, 62,000 contos. Exports of footwear parts came to 41,000 contos in these first 5 months of the year.

Portuguese Imports From Mozambique

As has already been said, Portugal's imports from Mozambique are limited and not very diversified, unlike the case with exports. In 1988, the leading categories of Portuguese purchases from that country were as follows:

Cotton, 390,000 contos; crustaceans, 182,000 contos; cotton thread, 121,000 contos; copra, 113,000; iron and steel sections, 81,000; coconuts and cashews, 38,000; iron and steel pipe, 29,000; sugar, 22,000; and marble, 20,000 contos.

In the first 5 months of this year, the main categories of Portuguese imports from Mozambique were the following: cotton, 418,000 contos (more than in the 12 months of 1988); copra, 100,000 contos; crustaceans, 77,000 contos; cotton thread, 43,000; iron and steel sections, 39,000; raw timber, 29,000; coconuts and cashews, 26,000; iron and steel pipe, 24,000; and marble, 16,000 contos.

Overall Mozambican Exports

In order to situate these Portuguese imports within the context of total Mozambican foreign sales, we are giving the values for the main Mozambican export products for 1986, in millions of dollars: shrimp, \$38; cashews, \$17; sugar, \$8; oil and oil products, \$4; cotton, \$1; tea, \$1;

wood, \$1; coal, \$1; and cement, \$0.3. As these values do not differ greatly, and the variations have been even better than the estimates set forth in the Economic Recovery Plan, it is probable that the goals for 1989 will be reached as well. These goals, also in millions of dollars, are: cashews, \$51.7; shrimp, \$32.9; tea, \$7.7; citrus fruit, \$5.3; cotton, \$2.4; copra, \$0.7; wood, \$2.5; coal, \$1.6; and others, including sugar and oil products, \$20.1.

Namibia

Pik Botha Meets Political Parties' Representatives

*MB1910193789 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha met representatives of the 10 political parties contesting South-West Africa/Namibia's November elections in Windhoek today.

At a news conference, Mr Botha said the South African Government was not interested in the ideology or color of the elected government, but would appreciate it if parties began giving their attention to practical matters such as the use of South African currency in the territory, the customs union agreement, border control, and telecommunications.

[Begin video recording] [Reporter Ossie Gibson] Addressing a news conference, Mr Pik Botha said that the South African Government would ensure that the administrator general had at his discretion all the means needed to ensure law and order in the period before and after the election. One of the remaining problems to be resolved was exactly how the principle of a two-thirds majority should be included in the constitution, but this principle had already been accepted by the Security Council and all involved in the settlement plan.

[Pik Botha] The South African Government and the five governments who proposed this in 1982 fully support the view that these principles must be included in the constitution of Namibia, and I think it is a waste of time to try and debate this issue. That is a fact, and the Security Council will not approve of a constitution which does not contain those principles and I now hope that all the small talk and nonsense about this matter will stop in Namibia.

[Gibson] Earlier, Foreign Minister Botha and representatives of the 10 political parties taking part in the November election posed for group photo at what used to be called South-West House. Each party was represented by three senior representatives directly involved in the election efforts.

The parties today released a joint statement condemning violence and calling on the people of the territory to commit themselves to a peaceful independence process. The statement says, we quote: In the spirit of Resolution

435 and the code of conduct, we, the political parties of Namibia, condemn the threat or use of violence. [end recording]

Pienaar, Ahtisaari Disagree on Two-Thirds Majority

*MB1810141789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1340 GMT 18 Oct 89*

[Text] Windhoek Oct 18 SAPA—Indications emerged on Wednesday of serious differences between South Africa's administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, on Namibia's Constituent Assembly to be elected in three weeks. The differences centre on the two-thirds majority requirement and constitutional guidelines internationally agreed upon in 1982.

"Mr Ahtisaari has already indicated that he does not want the two-thirds majority clause contained in the Constituent Assembly proclamation," an authoritative source said in Windhoek.

South Africa was insisting on the incorporation of the 1982 document, which constituted an international agreement and was ratified by the UN Security Council early this year, the source said.

It was understood that South Africa's foreign affairs minister, Mr Pik Botha, had written a letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, emphasising the need for all concerned to adhere to the agreement.

Agreed to by all Namibian political parties, the 1982 guidelines stipulate a western-type multi-party democracy in Namibia and the protection of fundamental human rights.

The National Patriotic Front (NPF) said in a statement in Windhoek on Wednesday that tampering with the 1982 principles would amount to renegotiation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) and subsequent resolutions concerning Namibian independence.

An NPF spokesman, Mr Ben Mabuku, said the front had learnt that SWAPO [South-West African Peoples' Organization] was pressuring the UN to drop the two-thirds majority needed in the 72-member constituent assembly to approve constitutional details. "There happens to be a lot of arms twisting in there at the UN," he said.

"SWAPO, after having realised how difficult it is to win a two-thirds majority (in the elections)...has now resorted to behind the scenes lobbying for Mr Ahtisaari to seek changes in Resolution 435.

"SWAPO wants to be declared the winner without necessarily meeting the two-thirds majority requirement, and be given the authority to draw up a constitution or simply to start governing an independent Namibia."

Mr Mabuku said SWAPO was being deliberately vague on the agreed upon constitutional principles "to leave the door open for whatever it has in mind for the future."

Any attempt to change the independence process unilaterally would have serious consequences for the UN operation in Namibia and the country's independence process.

He urged the African group and the non-aligned movement at the UN in New York "to stop advancing a one-party solution to the complex question of Namibian independence".

SWAPO's office at the UN remained fully operative, Mr Mabuku said, which enabled SWAPO through its friends, particularly the Organisation for African Unity and the NAM [Nonaligned Movement], to influence the conduct of UN (?business).

Other Namibian political parties did not enjoy a similar advantage. "Such preferential treatment of SWAPO jeopardise the credibility of the election process as free and fair," Mr Mabuku said.

Pienaar To Investigate Missing Namibians

*MB1710155789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1533 GMT 17 Oct 89*

[Text] Windhoek, Oct 17, SAPA—Administrator-General [AG] Louis Pienaar on Tuesday issued a statement confirming he had received from SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] a list of Namibians alleged to be missing and undertook to do everything possible to investigate their whereabouts.

Mr Pienaar said he was not prepared to speculate on the whereabouts of the people on the list—allegedly seen by relatives being taken into custody by South African-led security forces—as interested parties would be informed as and when information became available.

He also appealed to anyone with relevant information to make it available to the AG's office.

"The administrator-general trusts the same degree of concern for the right of each individual to vote in the forthcoming election will be displayed by all parties involved in the peace process."

He expressed "deepest concern" for those SWAPO detainees who were still unaccounted for.

On July 20 the AG released all political prisoners held in Namibia.

Administration spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha would meet political parties registered for the November election on Thursday morning during an open-agenda informal meeting chaired by Mr Pienaar.

Mr Botha will hold private discussions with registered parties on Thursday [19 October].

UN Announces Nov Assembly Election Procedures

*MB1310143389 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1407 GMT 13 Oct 89*

[Text] Windhoek Oct 13 SAPA—The United Nations planned to have 1700 UN and seconded officials from 30 governments in Namibia by the end of the month to supervise the November election for a Constituent Assembly, the head of the UN Electoral Division, Mr Hisham Omayad, said on Friday.

Just under 700,000 people eligible to vote had registered to take part in the election from November 7 to 11.

Mr Omayad told a media briefing that the secrecy of the ballots was assured, and that votes would be counted at the 23 electoral district headquarters.

Special tendered votes, where the identity of a voter was not conclusive, would be sent to the central register in Windhoek for checking before being counted, Mr Omayad said.

During the first two days of voting, registration cards from selected polling stations around the country would be sent directly to Windhoek for random spot checks against the central register in order to detect any "unusual patterns", Mr Omayad said.

All voter registration cards would have a duplicate in Windhoek, and any card without such a duplicate would obviously be faked, he added.

Fingerprint and handwriting experts would be on hand during the polling to help check and verify the thumbprints and signatures of voters.

In reply to a question, Mr Omayad said the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who has to certify the election is free and fair, could be asked to call for a complete verification of the election in the case of massive fraud.

Political parties could not appeal against the result if Mr Ahtissari was satisfied the process had been carried out as laid down in United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

Mr Omayad said the decision to count the ballots locally in the election districts, without the elaborate verification procedure first proposed, meant the result could be expected three days after voting ended.

Ballots were to be cast in the areas where voters had registered, but provision was made for those not able to do so to use the tendered ballots which were counted in Windhoek.

Provision had also been made for local interpreters to help election officials in assisting illiterate voters. These voters would mark their own ballots after a South African election official, in the presence of an UNTAG [UN Transitional Assistance Group] election supervisor,

had explained party symbols and voting procedure to them. About 40 per cent of the Namibian electorate are believed to be illiterate.

Mr Omayad pointed out too that all UN election officials had to speak English.

Representatives of the 10 political parties contesting the election for the 72-seat Constituent Assembly would be able to observe proceedings at polling stations, without being in a position to intimidate voters, and attend verification and counting of ballots, Mr Omayad said.

Cuba Opens Observer Mission in Country

*MB1210105789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0840 GMT 12 Oct 89*

[Text] Windhoek Oct 12 SAPA—Cuba is the latest country to open an observer mission in Namibia, SWABC [South-West African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Thursday.

According to the protocol official of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs in Windhoek, Mr Peter Roussau, the new Cuban mission, headed by Mr Alcibiades Hidalgo Basulto, is the 23rd foreign mission to be established in the country during the transition to independence.

This figure did not include foreign organisation like the Frontline States and the Organisation of African Unity, he said.

Egypt, India, Japan, Kenya, Nigeria and the Republic of China had set up mission in the city since June.

Mr Roussau said the majority of the foreign representatives had indicated they intended establishing formal missions following the outcome of the November independence election.

He said the presence of diplomatic observers was an indication of the international community's interest in the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

Their presence would also facilitate formal relations with an independent government, Mr Roussaue added.

Zambia**Kaunda Departs for Commonwealth Summit 16 Oct**

*MB1610184289 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 16 Oct 89*

[Text] The president, Comrade Kaunda, left Lusaka for Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia this afternoon to attend the heads of state Commonwealth summit which opens in the town on Wednesday [18 October]. The president who is flying aboard a DC-8 aircraft, is accompanied his wife Betty, his son (Kaweke), and (Kaweke's) wife (Farida).

Others on the presidential team are special assistant for economy (James Mapoma) and [words indistinct] (Mark Nyalungwe). The president was seen off at Lusaka International Airport by party Secretary General Comrade Grey Zulu, Prime Minister Malimba Masheke, Secretary of State for Defense and Security Alex Shapi, Chief Justice Annel Silungwe, and other top party and government officials.

Kaunda Comments on Sanctions' 'Breathing Space'

MB1810114889 London BBC World Service in English
0635 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the "Network Africa" presented by Caroline Dempster]

[Text] Today, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the summit meeting of Commonwealth leaders gets off to an official start but the issue that is already getting the most attention is the subject of sanctions on South Africa.

At a press briefing of foreign ministers from 46 out of the 49 member states attending, a leading South African churchman, the Reverend Allan Boesak, suggested giving the South African Government a 6-month breathing space. This idea of easing up the sanctions pressure in any way has already been condemned by the African National Congress, but what about the views of African heads of state?

I called up Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda at his hotel to find out what he thought about a sanctions breather.

[Begin recording] [Kaunda] It all depends on what is meant by a 6-month breathing space. If by that is meant lifting sanctions for 6 months, Zambia will not go along with that one. But if what is meant is keeping sanctions at the level at which they are and accepting the foreign ministers' proposal of looking at the [word indistinct] of South Africa, then of course that is most welcome.

[Dempster] Mr President: As one of the most outspoken leaders of state in favor of sanctions, do you think that the sanction pressure should be increased at this point?

[Kaunda] Well, what I am saying is that we keep to the status quo. We do not increase sanctions apart from accepting the recommendations of our foreign ministers completely on the monitoring of [words indistinct] (?South) Africa more adequately than we have done so far.

[Dempster] And do you think that now Mrs Thatcher, the prime minister of Britain, is going to join African leaders in supporting this continued pressure for sanctions?

[Kaunda] Well, I really can't speak for British Government. The British prime minister is here, you might wish to ask her about that.

[Dempster] But do you believe that efforts will be made tomorrow when Mrs Thatcher in fact addresses the Commonwealth meeting, that efforts will be made by African heads of state to bring her into the fold, as it were?

[Kaunda] I do not think so. There is no reason to do that because we all know precisely where the British Government stands on this matter, led by its prime minister. The British Government, led by its prime minister, also knows exactly where the rest of us in the Commonwealth stand on this issue.

[Dempster] Now, Mr President: It would be easy to say that there is pressure also on the Frontline States to review their position on sanctions because it does also hurt them. Has not Zambia suffered as a result of the sanctions pressure?

[Kaunda] Well, my dear sister, we have suffered more than just sanctions. We have lost lives, more than just sanctions. We have lost lives in Frontline countries: 1.5 million people's lives lost. We have lost property close on 60 million [pauses] \$60 billion worth of property lost and what assistance we get by way of repairing bridges goes to waste because, in no time at all, South African forces or their surrogates move in and destroy those infrastructures.

[Dempster] Do you believe that, with the new president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, and the moves that he has made this week, particularly in the release of several prominent political prisoners, that times are changing in South Africa?

[Kaunda] When he allowed those massive demonstrations in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, I wrote him a letter of support but I did say, very clearly, one political swallow does not make a political summer. Is he going to have the courage of his convictions to do the right thing? And if so, is he going to be able to withstand the pressures that are bound to come from his own rightwingers in his own party? So, all these questions have to be answered before we know what Mr de Klerk stands for.

[Dempster] Mr President: Do you yourself have hopes?

[Kaunda] If only for fear of what is going to happen if Mr de Klerk does not do the right thing. If he does not, then an explosion of immense proportions is bound to befall not only South Africa, because once, like a volcano, the apartheid erupts into violence, that violence is going to make worse what apartheid has done to us in that region already. [end recording]

*** Editorial: IMF Goals Met, Aid Needed Now**

34000051a Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL
in English 4 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] Many detractors believe that Zambia's separation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on May 1,

1987 was an ill-advised emotional reaction of a country which could not accept that its economy was in a shambles.

But in taking that bold move, Zambia never once deluded herself that she had no problems nor indeed that she had the answer to all her problems. On the contrary, it outlined the many daunting problems which needed the people's sacrifices and which it was apparent the IMF was ignoring in setting its stiff lending conditions. She even asked for help from friendly donors.

IMF conditionality, as it was called, accounts for many upheavals in a number of countries which have benefited from its programmes. Zambia, which witnessed the December 1986 riots, could not therefore, countenance a recurrence of such events.

It was obvious that the conditions that the IMF was preparing were a receipt for unrest: It wanted the Kwacha devalued and state not to intervene in the weekly foreign exchange auctions which had sent the Kwacha tumbling to K20.95 to a dollar—a 700 percent devaluation.

It wanted a 75 percent price increase on oil, which would have sent ripples all over. It wanted fertiliser prices upped from K70 a bag to K160, which would have been out of reach of the peasants who grow 60 percent of the country's main crop—maize.

There were other demands like the decontrol of prices, higher producer prices, retrenching excess labour in the mines and civil public service, lower budget deficit, higher interest rates and clearance of outstanding debts.

So, really, the May 1, 1987 move was like Hobson's choice. There was only one way to go. And over the period of 18 months from July 1987 to December 1988, the interim national development plan, centred on growth from own resources, achieved a lot in at least stabilising the economy.

Zambia was not gloating over its interim successes and invited the IMF and the World Bank to look at the programme. Apparently, they too liked what they saw and indications are strong that the separation will soon end.

Indeed the recent measures announced by President Kaunda—decontrolling the prices, removing subsidies, devaluing the Kwacha and others all go to show that in its own way Zambia has achieved the same objectives IMF wanted done more or less in one fell swoop.

But with hindsight, the leadership had to plot the country's economic path with due care lest they compromised the nation's security. The task was complex but the will was there.

Yesterday, President Kaunda told a Canadian journalist he was hopeful that donor countries meeting in Paris next week would try to help Zambia and other developing countries out of their economic problems.

Since May 1987, Zambia has had little or no help from the Western donor countries who have insisted she follows the IMF and World Bank programmes to get aid.

But through her own programme, Zambia has achieved just the same targets envisaged in those programmes and now can use a little help from friendly countries to pursue the viable programme to the end.

There is no doubt that the government is intent on strengthening the economy. Zambia and fellow developing countries can certainly do with a sympathetic hearing from creditor nations.

* PRC Provides \$14 Million Loan for Railroad

34000051c Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL
in English 4 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Zambia and China yesterday signed a 14 million U.S. dollar Tanzania-Zambia Railways Authority (Tazara) soft loan.

Finance Minister Gibson Chigaga signed for Zambia while Chinese vice Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Lu Xuejian signed for his government at the Ministry of Finance headquarters in Lusaka yesterday.

Cde Lu, pledged China's continued assistance to Tazara in efforts to make the region dependent on its own rail communication system.

He said the railway line was a viable venture which had stood the test of time and would continue to be a reliable means of communications in Zambia's and Tanzania's development.

Cde Chigaga praised China for the soft loan and said the help was economically, politically and socially welcome.

Meanwhile, China has pledged more assistance toward completion of the new Party headquarters being built in Lusaka.

Speaking when he called on Party Secretary-General Grey Zulu at Freedom House, Cde Lu disclosed that China was ready to send more experts to work on the interior of the complex.

He said his team had inspected the project and observed that work was slow.

And Cde Lu last night urged President Kaunda not to remove Tazara general manager Standwell Mapara because he had managed to turn the railway line into a profit-making institution.

Cde Lu said his delegation had just attended a tripartite meeting of Tazara with Zambian and Tanzanian officials and had been impressed with Cde Mapara's performance.

Speaking when his delegation called on the President at State House Cde Lu said since Tazara's operations began about 13 years ago it had now improved its tonnage to one million.

*** PRC Aid for Textile Mill, Roads Praised**

34000051 Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL
in English 9 Aug 89 p 1

[Excerpt] Zambia has hailed China for her support in the economic and political initiatives of southern Africa.

Speaking before hosting lunch for Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen at State House yesterday, Cde Kaunda said that China gave because commitment. [sentence as published]

China was not a developed country but one that was a developing and yet she had greatly assisted Zambia.

President Kaunda said that China was like a woman who gave even the last she had as an offering.

After independence, Zambia campaigned for China's admission to the United Nations out of principle without knowing that China would be Zambia's friendly country.

The President commended China's role in times of great need, especially on the construction of the Tazara railway line, the Textile mills in Kabwe, construction of major roads in the country and the Chingola maize mill.

He also recalled China's assistance in providing military training during the struggle for independence.

In reply, Cde Qian assured Zambia that China would continue to help strengthen relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

*** Continuing Shortages Deplored as Harvest Nears**

34000052a Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL
in English 5 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] That 15 million grain bags and an undisclosed quantity of fertiliser are stuck at Dar-es-Salaam and Beira is certainly disquieting news at this time of the year when the crop collection drive should have started in earnest.

It is worrying too that the news comes at a time when government has expressed concern at the shortage of trucks to haul maize and other crops to safe storage before the onset of the rains. Some 600 trucks are still needed.

With the limited storage capacity, the problem is compounded by the fact that government is still trying to find a market for about three million bags of maize left over from the previous season. Unless therefore, something is done soon and fast, a crisis is on our hands.

There are about 13 million bags of maize to be collected and stored and seeing the usual problem the country faces in getting new and used grain bags, the crop could be endangered. So far only about 5.6 million new grain bags have arrived.

Power, Transport and Communications Minister Brigadier General Enos Haimbe has assured that everything possible will be done to move the empty grain bags that are stuck at Beira in Mozambique.

But we are not so sure that the Mozambican railway authorities will be able to easily mobilise the 300 wagons needed to move the bags to Zimbabwe and then onwards to Zambia. And time is certainly not with us.

It must be remembered that the Beira route is also used by other neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe and Malawi which will obviously be needing some of those wagons to transport their own goods. And like Gen Haimbe said, the rail lines (Mozambican and Zimbabwean) are not controlled by Zambia and movement of cargo may therefore, not be according to Zambia's priorities.

But, like we have observed earlier, time is not on Zambia's side and early contacts must be made with the railway authorities of these countries and the clearing and forwarding agents to expedite the movement of the bags.

If need be, Zambia should mobilise trucks when the bags arrive in Zimbabwe, to move them otherwise there will be further delays before they come in. And with only three months to go before the rains set in, there is little time left.

The fertiliser issue also creates quite a dilemma for the farmers who should be getting ready to prepare their fields for the next crop.

Already, cries have started from various districts for fertiliser and empty grain bags. If the current situation is not resolved soon, the cries of the farmers will be futile and their drive to grow more would have been dampened.

We reiterate our observation only two days ago that the marketing season should have started a month ago and some of the crops should have been in safe storage by now. But by the look of things, the exercise is still help up.

It is important that while farmers are getting the incentives to produce more food, the authorities concerned must be seen to be responding to these efforts by collecting the crops in time. Even if a farmer gets paid for his labour, he will not necessarily be happy to see the fruits of his labour go to waste. And what is more, it is the government which loses.

If there are grain bags which can be recycled, government through the co-operative movement should use these while the farmers await the arrival of the marooned bags.

And if there is some fertiliser from Nitrogen Chemicals or left over from last season, let it be distributed now.

We have had these problems of shortage of grain bags, trucks and fertiliser for far too long. By now we should have found ways of overcoming them in time.

Zimbabwe

Harare Provincial Elections Held 15 Oct

*MB1610135089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1214 GMT 16 Oct 89*

[Text] Harare, Oct 16, SAPA—Zimbabwe's minister of state for political affairs, Er Herbert Ushewokunze, was unanimously elected chairman of the united ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union-(Patriotic Front)] Party, beating six other candidates in the Harare provincial elections on Sunday [15 October].

Mr Ushewokunze polled 1,674 votes beating Mr Chris Pasipamire (241), Mr Panashe Nyandoro (123), Mr Robert Marere (17), Mr A.D.R. Mhene (5), Mr Rodrick Nyakudya (13) and Mr Abdul Muzukuru who received no vote at all, ZIANA reports.

There was jubilation when Mr Ushewokunze said at the end of the elections that he was nominating Mr Joshua Nkomo to the Central Committee "to reflect our oneness."

The Mukuvisi member of Parliament, Mr Macheka made mincemeat of fellow contestants when he was elected provincial secretary with the support of nearly all the 2,073 delegates at the congress, making it unnecessary for the returning officer to count the votes. This unanimous vote was accepted by the other seven candidates.

His deputy, former Harare mayor, Mr Tony Gara was elected under similar circumstances.

Mr Forbes Magadu and Mr Pasipamire were also unanimously elected political commissar and secretary for security respectively and so were their deputies, Mr Winston Ndzawo and Mr Richard Nyandoro.

In Masvingo, Political Affairs Minister Mr Eddison Zvobgo became united ZANU-PF chairman for the Constituency when he snatched an overwhelming 1,204 votes.

His rival, Harare Lawyer Mr Vengai Guni polled 137 votes.

Former acting provincial chairman Mr Oliver Munyaradzi, who is also minister of trade and commerce, because the vice-chairman with 818 votes, beating Senator George Mudukuti (640).

Mr Henry Pote, deputy minister of industry and technology became the provincial secretary. He got 1,407 votes, beating Mr Michael Nemarundwe who got 60 votes.

Senator Bernard Gutsa is the new political commissar after beating Governor Mr Dkamai Mavhaire (531), Mr Samson Gumbo (34), and Mr Henry Hamadziripi (19).

The deputy speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr Abraham Kabasa was elected chairman of the united ZANU-PF in Mashonaland East Province after polling 345 of the 1,002 votes and beating seven other contestants.

Mr Alois Mangwende was elected vice-chairman.

Earlier, the elections in Harare province were marred by the walk-out of about 200 PF-ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union-Patriotic Front] supporters who protested that the elections were "a farce as they have not unified the two political parties—ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU as intended."

The walk-out, apparently engineered by a vociferous groups of youths, women and a few men, began around 2.30 pm on Sunday and lasted for about an hour after the election of the top eight provincial executives.

Seven of these eight posts were won by former ZANU (PF) officials, and PF-ZAPU supporters said they were agitated by the "cheating in the elections."

They complained that the election of only one PF-ZAPU official (Mr Nyandoro to post of vice-chairman) "clearly indicated that it was a farce, that ZAPU was being used to liquidate itself out of existence and promoting ZANU (PF) officials in farce elections which some people had already connived and agreed on candidates."

The chief spokesman of the group said they had been totally surprised and disappointed by the "dirty tricks" of some ZANU (PF) officials and supporters who had "clearly shown they were not for unity" by voting and organising things in a partisan way.

"They are screening us today at provincial elections. They will do so again at the congress.

"They screen out everyone there and maybe just retain Umdala (Mr Joshua Nkomo, PF-ZAPU president). They want to use us and we don't want to be used," he said.

Harare Radio Reports on University Plans

*MB1910201489 Harare Domestic Service in English
1745 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] The University of Zimbabwean [UZ] authorities say the university will temporary reopen on Monday [23 October] to allow students to write their examinations. However, the students will be allowed to return only under certain conditions. All students returning to campus during the temporary lifting of the suspension will have to sign an undertaking that they will not

participate in any demonstration, unauthorized meetings, gatherings, or disturbances. They will also be required to abide by all (provisions) pertaining to their [word indistinct] and other regulations at the university.

The university council has said it will open the university following an emergency meeting yesterday, where it considered the interim report of the advisory committee on the closure. The UZ was reopened under the following conditions: that temporary registration status be given to all students affected by the suspension for the

rest of this year; all students are required to leave the campus after they have completed their examination, unless they have been specifically asked to stay for further examinations; and that [word indistinct] temporary reopening the university remains closed.

Temporary registration begins on Monday, 27 November, until 9 December. The university was closed in October after rioting by students in protest against the arrest of members of the Students Representative Council for allegedly distributing subversive documents.

Benin

* Kerekou's New Team Said To Favor Reforms

34000054a London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL
in English 22 Sep 89 pp 6-7

[Text] President Mathieu Kerekou's recent display of energy has brought him a badly-needed breathing-space. At the end of July, international funding agencies had put Benin on hold, suspending routine missions to the country. Their alarm was due to the government's renewed failure to pay its civil servants and a presidential decree firing teachers who had been on strike for several months. The scene seemed set for a showdown.

But in August, Kerekou was re-elected president by the National Assembly by 198 votes out of 200. He reshuffled his government and brought in some interesting new personalities intended to calm the fears of international bankers and donors.

Perhaps the most interesting of the newcomers is Maitre Robert Dossou, president of the Bar Association and dean of the university law faculty. Dossou has taken the important planning portfolio which gives him the task of coordinating economic reforms taking place in the context of an International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank structural adjustment programme. Kerekou has presented Dossou as a former opponent who has been brought in to the government in a spirit of openness. In fact, Dossou has frequently advised Kerekou in the past, notably on the legal aspects of business contracts and on the privatisation of state companies. Dossou has developed a shrewd political connection with the important market-women and their political organisations. His relaxed style makes him a good advertisement for the liberalism now in fashion.

Another minister whose appointment might please the international organisations is Karimou Rafiatou, a teacher by profession and president of the revolutionary women's organisation, one of the pillars of the government. Her appointment no doubt reflects the World Bank's wish to see women integrated into the structural adjustment programme, which aims to pump \$25 million into the health sector.

The third intellectual to come into the government is Amos Elegbe. He takes the trade portfolio, a vital post in a country which lives on the re-export of imported goods. A geographer by training, Elegbe has haunted the corridors of power for a long time. He was previously in charge of town planning and construction matters. His appointment to the government is also a signal to striking university teachers that top jobs are open to them. The fact that Elegbe is a Yoruba from the north, as opposed to a Yoruba from Porto Novo, reflects the balance of ethnic lobbies and economic interest-groups which Kerekou is seeking. Elegbe's long experience of French and international agencies also makes him an asset to the government on international matters.

Other appointments too reflect the priority Kerekou now gives to negotiating his way through the minefield of structural adjustment. Thus the new foreign minister is Daniel Tawema, formerly one of Kerekou's closest aides as head of his civil staff. His opposite number on the military side, Commandant Brathier Pancras, is now minister of the interior and public security. As head of the president's military staff, Pancras unravelled several coup plots.

In spite of Robert Dossou's publicly-expressed wish to see a multi-party system, that is not likely in the foreseeable future. Military men remain decisive in government in the person of such weighty figures as Colonel Martin Dohou-Azonhiho and Col. Didier Dassi, respectively keeping the portfolios of equipment and finance. Azonhiho is a member of the Political Bureau of the ruling Parti de la revolution populaire du Benin and represents the interests of the people of the old royal capital of Abomey. Two men to watch are Commandant Jean Ntcha, a rapidly-promoted member of the presidential guard who comes from Kerekou's home village, and Desire Kitoi (known as El Hadj Moubarak since taking a Muslim wife).

Observers have noted with interest the disgrace of Mamadou Cisse, known as 'the Devil', formerly a ruthless security chief and the president's personal soothsayer and business adviser. Cisse is now in a French jail awaiting trial on fraud charges.

The businessman **Antoine Kodia** is increasingly seen as having replaced Cisse as the president's right-hand man in business matters. Kodia is the managing director of the Save sugar refinery which he owns jointly with former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo. Among Kodia's other interests, he is a major landowner and lorry-owner. He is big in the building trade and is the country's major importer of rice, alcohol and cigarettes.

Also on the import-export front, the World Bank is still irritated by the scale of customs fraud and a widespread failure to repay bank loans. The government has engaged the Swiss company COTECNA to oversee imports. COTECNA won the tender in spite of asking a higher commission than its competitors.

Liberia

350 Ghanaians Reportedly Sail for Home

AB1810184589 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1709 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] About 350 Ghanaians, born or residing in Liberia for several years, have reportedly left for their homeland on board a ship, the "MV Premier Challenge." The registered Ghanaian vessels was the similar ship which brought home over 425 Liberians last month from Ghana. The returned Liberians had resided in that country since it was referred to as the Gold Coast. According to a local daily, another exodus of Liberians living in Ghana are expected in the country by the end of this month.

Although reasons leading to the departure of the 350 Ghanaians are not known, but a source quoted by the local daily said the Ghanaians left on their own free will as was in the case of over 420 Liberians who returned home recently. [sentence as heard] Several Ghanaians were staying at the free port of Monrovia 2 weeks with their personal belongings aboard the "MV Premier Challenge" which headed for Harper, Maryland County, to have picked up more Ghanaians. According to the local daily, some of the Ghanaians said they were happy to return home.

Nigeria

* Government Reviews Dual Oil Price System

34000054b London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English
15 Sep 89 p 8

[Text] Lagos. The Nigerian government is ordering a review of its dual petrol pricing system, introduced in the 1989 budget in an attempt to calm protests over the reduction in petrol subsidies. The price increases which resulted from the 30% subsidy cut this year were set at 42 kobo/litre for commercial vehicles and 60 kobo/litre for private cars.

According to government statistics, private cars should account for 70% of total petrol consumption. But figures for the first half of the year suggest either a drastic slump in the use of private cars or massive cheating. Dealers claim that their sales now consist overwhelmingly of the lower-priced product, with the result that government revenues from the subsidy cuts are some N180m short of budget estimates.

There have been reports for several months that filling stations are competing for private customers by offering discounts of up to 10 kobo/litre. This reduction plus an 8 kobo 'extra profit' represents the 18 kobo/litre differential in the dual pricing system. The large distributors are blaming filling stations which in turn blame pump attendants for pocketing the money. Nobody is surprised; everybody is promising surveillance to stamp out the abuses.

Informed sources say that the government may revert to single pricing. In which case, the increase may be set at 50 kobo/litre on all sales. Some observers even predict a 'levelling up' to 60 kobo/litre, with the possible exception of government vehicles, to make up for the lost revenues.

The government is, however, unwilling to raise prices to this level because of the inflationary impact of such a step. Any further price increase would almost certainly result in wide protests and even strikes. The government may be timing any move on petrol prices to coincide with the announcement on the choice of political parties. The storm which is expected in the wake of this decision should drown any protest regarding fuel pricing.

Togo

Burkina Faso's Compaore Begins Visit 18 Oct

AB1810141089 Lome Domestic Service in French
1230 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Excerpt] President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso has begun an official visit to the Prefecture of Tone where he arrived this morning around 0940. He was welcomed on arrival by General Gnassingbe Eyadema Rally of the Togolese People [RPT] founding chairman and president of the Republic, and by several members of the RPT Central Committee and many prefects. The two heads of state received bouquet of flowers from four young girls and listened to their respective national anthems. Presidents Eyadema and Compaore later went on board the presidential limousine which drove them to the city of Dapango where libation was poured at the entrance of the city. [passage omitted]

Compaore Pays Flash Visit

AB1910074589 Ouagadougou Domestic Service
in French 1900 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The head of state, Captain Blaise Compaore, this morning paid a flash friendly visit to Dapango, Togo. Welcomed at the Sakoince border area by Togolese President General Gnassingbe Eyadema, the Popular Front chairman and his Togolese counterpart, later went to Dapango where they were given a popular welcome. They later held private discussions. Jean Baptiste Ilboudou has the details on the atmosphere of the welcome:

[Begin Ilboudou recording] The presidential suite, which left Tenkodogo, arrived at Sakoince, the border town between Togo and Burkina Faso at around 1000 GMT. At the Burkinabe side, the comrade president was welcomed by the prefect of Sanga, the chairman of the village council, and by a [words indistinct]. After the welcome address by the militants, the comrade president and his suite went to the Togolese side of the township of Sakoince, where President Eyadema was waiting for them. The two presidents exchanged handshakes followed by a display of military honors, the playing of the national anthems of both countries, and a gun salute. That is all for the welcome ceremony—a ceremony which respected traditional Togolese hospitality. The suite then left for Dapango, some 30 km from Sakoince. All along the route, the people came out in great numbers to express their support and friendship for the people of Burkina Faso—a friendship which Capt Compaore and Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema have carefully built in order to dissipate the (?misunderstanding) that existed between the two countries. This visit really demonstrates the willingness of the two men and their respective peoples to work hard to install a real climate of peace within the subregion for the prosperity of their peoples. [passage omitted]

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